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THE HELLENIC FACTOR IN THE EASTERN PROBLEM

BY THE
RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

IN ONE VOLUME.

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

By the same Author,

**ROME AND THE NEWEST FASHIONS IN RELIGION . 1 vol.
BULGARIAN HORRORS AND RUSSIA IN TURKISTAN 1 vol.**

THE HELLENIC FACTOR
IN THE
EASTERN PROBLEM

WITH OTHER TRACTS

BY THE
RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

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THE HELLENIC FACTOR IN THE EASTERN PROBLEM.

PROBABLY for the first time during two thousand years, the silence of the Pnyx at Athens was broken a few weeks ago by the stir of an assembly comprising, as we are told, about ten thousand persons.* It had been preceded elsewhere, for example in Zante, by a similar and not much smaller meeting. It is interesting for us Englishmen to observe both the Greeks and the Romans of to-day following, like ourselves, the traditions of their remote forefathers, and handling matters of prime public interest in public assembly. In the millennium preceding the long term which I began by naming, such a proceeding would have been regular and familiar in any part of Greece.

The object of this rather notable gathering was to put forward a claim on behalf of the Hellenic provinces still in servitude, and not permitted even to speak authentically for themselves. The claim is for an equal share in the emancipation, which has been demanded in various quarters on behalf of the Slavonic subjects of the Ottoman Power. The meeting was first addressed by the Professor of History in the University of Athens, who advanced this among his claims to

* *Compte Rendu de l'Assemblée, &c. Athènes, 1876.*

speaking on the occasion—that he had seen his brother and his brother-in-law beheaded, his father and his uncle hung. He noticed the general grounds, on which those of his own race are entitled to no less favourable consideration than their brethren in misfortune farther north. He noticed also the great distinction between them: “The Slavs have risen this year, the Greeks have not.” And the distinction is most important. Repudiating heartily the doctrines of the supreme right of overbearing might, which still appear to find some countenance among us, I must still admit a material difference between those who show that their enfranchisement is required for the general tranquillity and those who do not. It is much, if right be done in the first-mentioned class of cases; for Human Justice is ever lagging after Wrong, as the Prayers of Homer came limping after Sin.* Even to the great Healer, during his earthly walk, the “sick folk” were *brought*. Gratuitously to search out all the woe of those who suffer in silence and inaction, desirable as it might be, is scarcely within the conditions of human strength.

But this is not disputed by the Greeks of, or beyond, the Kingdom. It appears to be met by a plea of fact which, if it can be made good, is relevant and important. It is thus stated by Professor Papparihigopoulos:—

“The Powers have made use of every means to repress the disposition of the Greeks to war, by promising that the Greek nation, which for the time refrained from complicating the situation, should at the settlement obtain the same advantages as the Slavs.**

* Il. ix. 498.

** Comptes Rendus, p. 6.

Professor Kokkinos, following in the discussion, says that free Greece, loyal to the Powers of Europe, had encouraged their brethren still in servitude to rely on those Powers, and that Europe had praised the prudence and patience* which were exhibited accordingly. The Minister Koumoundouros, in reply to a deputation appointed by the assembly, encourages them to hope that the enlightenment of the Porte, and the humanity of Europe, will not drive them to embrace the belief that the gates of Justice may be shattered, but opened never.**

Of the steps thus alleged to have been taken by the European Governments, the public, and also the Parliament, of this country are, I apprehend, up to this time in ignorance. It does not appear to me that such steps, if taken, were necessarily wrong, or that, in the midst of the existing complications, it must have been wrong to postpone a statement of their nature. We have indeed, in the Parliamentary Papers of 1876,*** a communication from the Consul at Canea, affirming the existence of general and deep-seated discontent in Crete, together with the draft of a large measure of change proposed by the Christians; but there is no indication of opinion, or account of any steps taken, at the Foreign Office.

I have thus stated the claim put forward by the Greeks themselves to a hearing at the Conference of the Powers on Eastern affairs, if such a Conference should be held. There are signs, which render it more or less probable that they may proceed to substantiate their claim by *voies de fait*. In any alternative it is not wise to attempt to get past the present

* *Compte Rendu*, p. 14.

** *Ibid.* p. 22.

*** No. 3, p. 284.

disturbance without giving their existence even a thought.

“It will but skin and film the ulcerous place.*

For months the Christians of Turkey, other than Slav, have been out of sight and out of mind. It certainly is not too early to examine a little into their cases.

There are four Christian races under the dominion of the Porte. The question of the Slavs is going to the Conference, or the sword. The case of the Wallachs of Roumania is happily disposed of; one of the greatest and best results of the Crimean War. The case of the Armenians, who, like the Wallachs, are stated to be four millions, is presented argumentatively in a *Mémoire*** dated October, 1876, and laid before each of the Great Powers. The more proximate case of the Hellenic provinces of European Turkey is that which I shall now endeavour to unfold. And this not only because it is the portion of the house next to the present conflagration, and most likely to be caught by it; but also because the history of the proceedings, through which the Kingdom of free Greece was established, affords most interesting precedents, and an admirable guidance for any Government, or representative of a Government, desirous to deal with the great Eastern problem in the spirit of the best traditions of his country. On their title to be dealt with by the Conference I do not presume absolutely to pronounce. We may see applied to these populations the maxim—

“The voice of any people is the sword
That guards them; or the sword that beats them down.”***

* Hamlet III. 4.

** *Mémoire sur la situation actuelle des Arméniens et sur leur avenir.*
Dated from 74, Lancaster Gate, London.

*** Tennyson's Harold.

I cordially hope that it will be deemed wise and just to consider their case. But without prejudging the point, I proceed to sketch in outline the most material parts of an interesting history.

In common with the Italians, but in a still more conspicuous degree, the Greeks have been remarkable among men alike for the favours and the spite of fortune. And it is no wonder if, amidst many difficulties and discouragements, and even such discouragements as arise from defects and vices of their own, they cling to the belief that the severity of their trials is in truth a presage of a happy and distinguished future, acting like the flame of the furnace on the metal which is to issue from it. The fall of the race was indeed from so great a height, and to such a depth of misery, as is without parallel in history. The first stage of their descent was when they came under the Roman dominion. But *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*. This first reverse was mitigated by the majesty of the Power to which they succumbed, and by a continuous intellectual reign; such that, when Christianity went forth into the world, no sooner had it moved outwards from its cradle in Jerusalem, than it assumed the aspect of a Greek religion. That aspect it bore for centuries. In the Greek tongue, and by minds in which the Greek element predominated, was moulded that Creed, which still remains the intellectual basis of the Christian system. In the second century, it was still the ruling Christian tongue in Rome, where Pope Victor was the first who wrote in Latin on the business of the Church.* Perhaps

* Döllinger, *Hippolytus und Kallistus*, chap. i. p. 28. Plummer's Translation, p. 25.

the greatest measure, ever accomplished by a single man at a single stroke, was the foundation of Constantinople; whose empire survived, by a thousand years, that of the elder Rome. Here, too, Greek influences acquired ascendancy: and we ought to wonder, not so much at the final fall of the great city, as at its long survival; a survival, only brought to its term by the appearance on the stage of foes far more formidable than those before whom Italy and its proud capital had licked the dust.

But, all this time, *numerosa parabat excelsæ turris tabulata*. When still the exclusive mistress of the most refined learning of the world, she was called to bear, in common with other not yet patrician races, the fearful weight of the Ottoman yoke. By the far-sighted cruelty of Mohammed II., the aristocracy of the Greek lands was completely swept away. They exhibited, indeed, no case like that of the general apostasy of the landholders in Bosnia: the repetition of this infamy on a smaller scale in Crete took place at a much later period. Greeks were not only deprived of their natural leaders; they were assailed at every point, and in the very citadel of the family life, by the terrible exaction of the children-tribute. Not only was the system indicated by that phrase a most cruel and wicked one on the part of the conquerors who invented it, but it carried with it an amount of degradation to the sufferers who bore it, such, perhaps, as never was inflicted even on African slaves. Endured at first in the stupidity of terror, it laid wide and deep, during the two centuries for which it lasted, the foundations of baseness, and it is probably not too much to say that two centuries since its cessation* have

* Finlay's Greece from 1453 to 1821, pp. 194, 195.

not yet everywhere effaced its effects. Nor is effeminacy, especially where thus engendered, a guarantee for humanity. The fathers who gave over the bodies and souls of their children to the tyrant were, thus far, sunk into the region of the brutes, and acquired of necessity something of that habit of mind which is as ready upon occasion to enforce the law of violence, as to cringe before it.

While such was the condition of the Greek race, considered on the side of their Ottoman masters, their horizon was not a whit less black in every other quarter. There is no chapter of history more disgraceful to Western Christendom, than that which exhibits the conduct of its various Governments with respect to the entrance of Turkish rule into Europe, and its continuance there. It made, indeed, vigorous and even noble efforts to repel the invaders; but this was when the Turks, having overrun that portion of the South of Europe which adhered to the Oriental Church, began at length to menace, and to some extent to occupy, European ground within the precinct of the Latin Communion. These efforts were ultimately successful; but it was only towards the close of the seventeenth century, that the danger could be said to have passed away from Western Europe. And it was during the same period, which witnessed the great overthrows of the Turks at Vienna (1685) and Peterwaradin (1717), that they were allowed to add to their empire by wresting Crete from the Venetians, and by finally recovering the Morea. The efforts made by Venice were remarkable as proceeding from so small a State, confident only in maritime resources; but they were neither liberating nor crusading efforts, so

far as the Christian populations were concerned. They were commercial and territorial; and if the civil yoke which they imposed were lighter than that which they removed, it was sometimes found that they carried with them a new stumbling-block in the shape of religious rivalry,* whereas the Turks were, as a rule, in regard to questions between one form of Christianity and another, supremely impartial. At all events we find that, when the long war waged in Crete ended in 1669 with its surrender to the Porte, the Greek population of the island, who might have given the victory to Venice, did not think it worth their while** to bestir themselves for the purpose. In general, either Europe was indifferent to the subjugation of Eastern Christendom, or at any rate, governed by their selfish jealousies, the Powers could not agree on the division of so rich a spoil,*** and therefore they suffered a very unnatural oppression to endure.

But even political jealousy was not so keen and sharp-eyed an enemy as ecclesiastical ambition. Of this we have the most extraordinary proof in the letter addressed by Pope Pius II. to Mahomet II. shortly after the capture of Constantinople. The Pontiff exhorts the victorious Sultan (1461) to embrace Christianity, and not only promises, upon that condition, to confer on him, by virtue of his own apostolical authority, the legitimate sovereignty of all the countries he had conquered from the Greeks, but engages to use him for the re-establishment over those countries of the supremacy of the Papal Chair. *Tuum brachium,*

* Gordon's History of the Greek Revolution, 1. p. 9.

** Finlay's Greece, p. 132.

*** Pichler, Geschichte der Kirchlichen Trennung, 1. 500.

he says, *in eos imploraremas, qui jura Ecclesiæ Romanæ nonnunquam usurpant, et contra matrem suam cornua erigunt.** Such was the consolation administered, on the Christian side and from the highest quarter, to those crushed under the calamity of Ottoman domination. It was their peculiar fate to be smitten on one cheek because they were Christians, and on the other because they were not Latin Christians. Had it not been, says Dr. Pichler, the learned historian of the Schism, for the religious division of East and West, the Turks never could have established their dominion in Europe.** Finlay tells us that Greeks, prosecuting their calling as merchants in the West, used actually to assume the disguise of Turks, in order to secure for themselves better treatment than they could have received as Eastern Christians.*** And yet we learn from the same author, that they suffered heavily for their supposed identity of religious profession with the Latins. The Moors, expelled from Spain, and taking refuge in the East, might not unnaturally pay off, when they found themselves in the ascendant, some of their old scores; part, at least, of what they had suffered from the victorious Christians of Spain. But the Jews also migrated in large numbers at the same time to the same quarter, and took a very high social position in the East as merchants, bankers, and physicians.

“They were eager,” says Finlay, “to display their gratitude to the Ottomans, and the inhuman cruelties they had suffered from the Inquisition made them irreconcilable enemies of the Christians.”†

* Pichler, i. 501.

** Ibid. i. 498.

*** Finlay's Greece, p. 186.

† Ibid. p. 132.

Nor was this all. The Turks did not long enjoy a maritime superiority corresponding with their military power by land. They had not nautical in the same high degree as soldierly aptitudes, and they were greatly dependent for manning their ships on the Greeks, of whom they had 25,000 in the fleet defeated at Lepanto. Therefore the seas afforded the means of constant irregular attack on Turkey. They were covered with pirates; and the religious orders of St. John and St. Stephen found it a meritorious as well as profitable occupation to pursue buccaneering practices on the coasts of the countries and islands, which were mainly inhabited by the Greek race; as in so doing they were assailing the territories of the infidel, and diminishing his power. The Greeks were commanded into Turkish, and kidnapped into Christian, galleys. Barbary competed in these lawless practices. Devastation was spread over the coasts of Greece, which often became uninhabitable;* and this plague was not extirpated, until the epoch of political redemption came.

Nor was this singular complication of calamities materially relieved by the fact, that Greek intelligence had been largely drawn upon to bring up to par the scantier supply of Turkish brains. Among the Viziers and other governing Turks no small numbers were of Greek extraction or mixed blood, but no trace of this relationship seems easily perceivable in their conduct. Still more remarkable was the creation of the class of Phanariots, so called from the Phanar, a quarter of Constantinople which they inhabited; an artificial aris-

* Finlay's Greece, pp. 206-228.

tocracy,* in whom selfish interests left little room for the growth of traditional feelings, so that their services to themselves were boundless, but to their nation rare. The opening for promotion tended to stir the desire for education so congenial to Hellenes, but as tax-gatherers the official Greeks were often the instruments of tyranny in detail; and a numerous body, possessed of influence, while on the whole they used it somewhat to alleviate oppression, at least in Greece, yet acquired an interest in supporting that Ottoman domination, upon which they personally throve.**

To the Greek race at large, these calamities were not only of an afflicting, but also of a most corrupting character. The song of Homer witnesses that the mild slavery of the heroic ages took away half the manhood of a man.*** But the slavery (for this it really was) imposed by the Ottoman Turk, not only substituting will for law, but mutilating the sacred structure of the family, and clothing the excesses of tyrannical power with the awful sanctions of religion, was such as to take away even half the remaining virtue of a slave. It seems indisputable that the effect was to corrode very seriously the character of the race.† The fetter that eats into the flesh eats also into the soul. God made man free, yet doubtless in foresight of the mischiefs that would result from the abuse of freedom. The abuse of it is fault and guilt, but the loss of it is mutilation. Under Ottoman rule, and in exact proportion as it was unqualified and unresisted, together with intellectual, moral, and domestic

* "A fictitious and servile noblesse."—Gordon, *Greek Revolution*, 1. p. 34.

** Ibid. 293-296.

*** Od. xvii. 322.

† Gordon's *History of the Greek Revolution*, 1. 32, 33.

life, the sense of nationality, and the desire of recovery, sank to the lowest ebb.

One treasure only remained to the Greek through the long night of his desolation; it was "the pearl of great price." Setting aside the involuntary victims of the children-tribute, only a most insignificant minority of the Christian races, or at least of the greater part of them, submitted to purchase by apostasy* immunity from suffering, with free access to the pleasures and advantages of life; especially to that most intoxicating and corrupting pleasure, the power of simple domineering over our fellow-creatures. That faith, which ought to bear fruit in the forms of all things fair and noble and humane, shrank into itself, as it often shrinks in cases less unhappy; and slept through the icy winter of many generations. But a twinkling light still marked the habitation it had not deserted; and it abode its time, bearing within itself the capacity and promise of a resurrection to come. While we admit and deplore the deep gloom of ignorance, and the widespread ravages of demoralization, let there also be a word of tribute rendered to the virtue of one heroic endurance and persistency, which is without parallel in the history of Christendom.

If we look to the means by which this great result was achieved, I cannot but assign the utmost value to the fact that even the popular services of the Eastern Church appear to be profusely charged with matter directly drawn from Scripture, and that access was thus given to a fountain of living waters, even where the voice of the preacher was unheard, and books were almost unknown. Thus the ministration of the

* Gordon's History of the Greek Revolution, 1. 33.

Christian rites was kept in some relation with that action of the human intelligence, which they encourage and presuppose. But I think that the impartial student of history must also admit that, in these dismal circumstances, the firmly knit organization of the Christian clergy rendered an inestimable service, in helping the great work of conservation. And it is not without interest to remark how many circumstances favour the belief that in this work the largest share belonged not to the monk in his cloister, or the bishop on his throne, but to the secular, or, as they are now called, the working clergy. The institution of marriage made and kept them citizens as fully as the members of their flocks: and "chill poverty," if it "repressed their noble rage," removed them from the temptations, to which the higher clergy were exposed by their often close and questionable relations with Constantinople. Mr. Finlay, who has exposed the results of this contact with, to say the least, an unsparing hand, has nevertheless placed upon record the following remarkable judgment:—

"The parish priests had an influence on the fate of Greece quite incommensurate with their social rank. The reverence of the peasantry for their Church was increased by the feeling that their own misfortunes were shared by the secular clergy. . . . To their conduct we must surely attribute the confidence, which the agricultural population retained in the promises of the Gospel, and their firm persistence in a persecuted faith. The grace of God operated by human means to preserve Christianity under the domination of the Ottomans."*

Let us now consider how the door of hope was opened and the opening gradually widened, for the race. The decay and extinction of the children-tribute,

* Finlay's Greece, p. 181.

in the seventeenth century, is to be considered as the removal of an insurmountable obstacle to all recovery. The contact with Venice, even in political subordination, maintained variously at various times, and never wholly lost in the (so-called) Ionian Islands until the extinction of the long-lived Republic, may at least have tended to maintain some sense of a common life, and common interests, with the rest of Christendom. The gradual loss by the Turks of their military supremacy was at least a negative advantage, a remote source of hope, to those whom they held in servitude. Some admissions, too, must be made on behalf of Turkey. Whether to avoid trouble, or for whatever reason, in certain districts, as in the Armatoliks, in Maina, in Sphakia, a more or less wild local independence was permitted to subsist. And candour compels us to confess that the gradual inroads of Russia, with its rising power, upon the Ottoman Empire, and its active interference in the Danubian Principalities, suggested in idea the figure of a deliverer rising on the far horizon.

In the peculiar case of Chios, the large principles of local self-government, established under the Genoese trading company of the Giustiniani, were respected by the Sultans after the conquest of the island in 1566. It became the home of comparative security and prosperity. It retained this character until the epoch of the Greek Revolution, when all, or nearly all, was quenched in blood by a massacre even more sanguinary, though apparently in some respects less fiendish, than the Bulgarian massacres of the present year. By this condition of relative freedom, continued through generations, the inhabitants of the

island rose to a superior level of intelligence; and it is indeed a remarkable fact, that Chios has supplied the chief part of those mercantile families, so full of intelligence, enterprise, and shrewdness, who have given in our day to Grecian commerce its very prominent and powerful position in the West, as well as in the East, of Europe. What a lesson, on the comparative results of servitude on the one hand, and even a very modest share of freedom with order on the other!

When the Morea returned, by the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718, under Turkish dominion, the cessation of the children-tribute had for some time removed a powerful check upon the growth of the population, and the system came at least partially into vogue of commuting the personal services of the rayah, and exactions in kind, for money payments of fixed amount.* In the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth down to the time of the Revolution, the population of the Morea would appear to have increased from 200,000 (1701)** to twice that number.

The consequence of this rising energy was soon exhibited in the activity of Russian influence, and in the readiness with which welcome was accorded to the rather selfish plans of Catherine II. In 1770, her agents procured a revolt in the Peloponnesos and in Crete, but with the avowed intention of bringing them under the crown of the Empress.*** The result, as might be expected, was discouraging; and in the peace of Kainardji, which did so much to extend Russian power and influence over the Christians of Turkey in general, no other care was taken of the

* Finlay's Greece, p. 281. ** Ibid. p. 237. *** Ibid. p. 308.

Greeks than the insertion of a clause of amnesty, which was left to execute itself; a process which requires no exposition in detail.* They shared, however, in principle, and they had qualities enabling them to turn to peculiar account, the strange but very valuable privileges of the Barat, under which Ottoman subjects, residing in Ottoman territory, obtained a charter of denaturalization, and the privileges of the subjects of some friendly power, to whom their allegiance was transferred.** But the time soon arrived when the Greeks began to feel the moral influence of the French Revolution, of growing commerce, and of the improvements effected in their language by progressive approximations to the ancient standard. By the time of the Treaty of Vienna, they had so far imbibed the spirit and sense of nationality, that it is said disappointment was felt on its being found that nothing was done for the Greek race. The influence of the mischievous combination, which daringly assumed the name of the Holy Alliance, was undisguisedly adverse to them. The Congress of Laybach, at the outset of the Revolution, declared its hostility to every struggle for freedom. The Congress of Verona,*** which followed closely upon the great massacre of Chios, was not roused by sympathy or horror to authorize any positive measure or policy against Sultan Mahmoud; and the religious sympathies of the Emperor Alexander were upon the whole overborne, in the direction of Russian policy, by his horror of democracy.†

* Gordon, i. 31. ** Finlay's History of the Greek Revolution, i. 131.

*** Ibid. ii. 162.

† A different view, to some extent, is taken in Joyneville's Life and Times of Alexander I., vol. III. chapters VI. and VII.

But the opinion and sense of communities had now a larger influence than formerly on the course of affairs, and even on the action of Governments. The Greeks were advancing in education and in wealth, whilst the process of decay had visibly attacked the proud Empire of the Ottomans. Courage had revived among them, fostered partially by piracy and *brigandage*, but also by the formation of regular military bands, composed from the *armatoli*, or local Christian militia, who, in the strange and anomalous condition of the Turkish Empire, had been allowed to exercise great power in parts of the peninsula, until in later times the centralizing operations of the Sultans, endeavouring to circumscribe their action, threw them into an attitude of resistance to the Government, and sometimes into habits of absolute rapine. From the materials thus supplied, several regular corps had been constructed in connection with various Governments. On the sea, there had been formed a race of hardy mariners, who manned the Greek trading ships, and knew how to work the guns, that they carried for defence against the piracy still infesting their coasts. All these separate materials were brought into the possibility of combination by the Philikè Hetairia; * a secret society of considerable value, in whose bosom lay the seeds of the revolution, waiting the day when they should burst from the surface. This combination grew out of or replaced a literary institution called the Philomuse Society, which, like the agricultural gatherings at a more recent period in Italy, appears to have cloaked its aims under a title calculated to avert suspicion. The

* Gordon, I. 42; Finlay, I. 120.

Hetairia had a decided relation to Russian influence, as well as to Greek independence, but to influence of a popular kind, such as we have witnessed in very energetic operation during the present year. All the European Governments were alike hostile at the time. Still in the case of Russia there was this difference, that the Hellenes might not irrationally regard her as the natural enemy of their enemy. The ramifications of this society were wide, and its uses, at least its preliminary uses, would seem to have been considerable.*

It was not, however, by the advised counsel of the conspirators that the time of the outbreak was finally determined; but by the war between Sultan Mahmoud and his formidable vassal, Ali Pacha of Joannina in Albania, which appeared to offer an opportunity for action too tempting to be slighted. It was in the year 1821, and in the region of the Principalities, that the movement began; but it was essentially Greek,** and could only live and thrive on its own soil. In Southern Greece it commenced, with fatal energy, in a widespread massacre of the dispersed Mussulman population. It rose to nobler efforts, and to great exploits; but I am not required to attempt, for the present purpose, the details of military history. It offers in detail a chequered picture of patriotism and corruption, desperate valour and weak irresolution, honour and treachery, resistance to the Turk and feud one with another. Its records are stained with many acts of cruelty. And yet who can doubt that it was upon the whole a noble stroke, struck for

* Finlay and Gordon seem to differ much in their estimates of the efficiency of the Hetairia.

** Finlay, i. 169.

freedom and for justice, by a people who, feeble in numbers and resources, were casting off the vile slough of servitude, who derived their strength from right, and whose worst acts were really in the main due to the masters, who had saddled them not only with a cruel, but with a most demoralizing, yoke? * Among the propositions, which seem to be applicable to the facts collectively, are these: first, that it lay beyond the power of Turkey to put down the rebellion, without the aid of Ibrahim's ability and of the Egyptian forces; ** secondly, that gratitude for what Greece had once been and done produced much foreign aid, especially in the noble forms of individual devotion, as from Byron, Church, Gordon, Hastings, and others: thirdly, that the efforts made would have been ineffectual to achieve a complete deliverance, without foreign assistance of another sort.

Every traveller in Greece and its islands will speedily learn that upon the list of virtues obliterated from, or rather impaired in, the general Hellenic mind, the sense of gratitude is not included. Nowhere is it more lively.

One of the most brilliant names of our political history is also one of the names dearest to the heart of Greece. It is the name of George Canning. Let us now see by what wise and bold action that place in the fond and tenacious memory of a country and a race was obtained.

The war of the Revolution reached at first very widely over the range of territories inhabited by the

* See, on this subject, a noble passage from Lord Russell's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe*, which is cited by the Bulgarian Deputies at p. 25 of their recent pamphlet,

** Gordon, ii. 171.

Hellenic race, from Macedonia to Crete; but after a time came to be contracted, as far as land operations were concerned, within limits narrower than those of the historical Greek Peninsula. The moderate capacity and indifferent morality, but too observable among the Greek leaders, convinced the acute and penetrating mind of Lord Byron that the difficulties of the enterprise were vast. In August, 1824, before Ibrahim with his Egyptian forces had taken part in the quarrel, the Greek Government entreated England to take up the cause of independence, and frustrate the schemes of Russia.* Mr. Canning received this letter on November 4th, and answered it on the 1st of December. In his reply he only promised that Great Britain would mediate, on the request of Greece, with the assent of the Sultan, a friendly sovereign who had given to this country no cause of complaint. The chief importance of this answer lay, first, in the fact that it included the recognition of a government** authorized to act for the Greeks, and thus of their latent right to form themselves into a state: secondly, that it indicated a step on which, when taken by them, he would be prepared to found further proceedings. He had indeed already, in 1823, by a recognition of the Turkish blockade of the Greek ports, given to the insurgents the character of belligerents.*** But it seems plain on grounds of common sense, although in 1861 the question came to be clouded by prepossessions, that a measure of this nature is properly determined by considerations of fact, rather than of principle.

* Finlay's Greek Revolution, II. 166; Gordon, II. 283.

** Tricoupi, Hellenikè Epanastasis, vol. III. p. 193.

*** La Russie et la Turquie, par Dmitri de Boukharow. Amsterdam.

In August, 1825, the military pressure, through the invasion of the Peloponnesos by the Egyptian force, had become severe: and an act, as formal and authoritative as the condition of a State still in embryo would permit, then declared that "the Greek nation places the sacred deposit of its liberty, independence, and political existence, under the absolute protection of Great Britain."

Mr. Canning at once perceived the full significance of the step; and entered upon perhaps the boldest and wisest policy which has been exhibited by a British Minister during the present century. It did not consist in empty but offensive vaunts of the national resources, or loud proclamations of devotion to British interests, of which Britons, like other nations in their own cases respectively, have little need to be reminded. Neither did it rest on those guilty appeals to national fears and animosities, which it is too much to expect that the body of a people can withstand when they come to them with the sanction of authority. On the contrary, its leading characteristic was a generous confidence in the good sense, and love of liberty, which belonged to his countrymen, and a brave and almost chivalrous belief that they would go right if their leaders did not lead them wrong. Before Mr. Canning took office in 1822, the British Government viewed the Greek rebellion with an evil eye, from jealousy of Russia. According to Finlay,* its aversion was greater than that of "any other

* Greek Revolution, II. 161; Gordon, I. 315. Also compare Tricoupi, *Hellenikè Epanastasis*, I. 339, seqq.; II. 219; III. 267. On the change in the English policy, and its effect, see Tricoupi, III. 191-194. The majority of Mr. Canning's Cabinet did not sympathize with him: but he had the advantage of a thoroughly loyal chief in Lord Liverpool.

Christian Government." Its nearest representative, Sir Thomas Maitland, well known in the Ionian Islands as King Tom, after breaking faith with the people there by the establishment of a government virtually absolute in his own hands, endeavoured (but in vain) to detect by the low use of espionage the plans, yet in embryo, of the Revolution. Nor had any individual more temptation to indulge feelings of hostility to the despotic governments of Europe, than a Minister, who was more hateful in their eyes than any Secretary of State who before or since has held the seals of the Foreign Office. But he saw that the true method of preventing the growth of an exorbitant influence, of disarming Russian intrigue, and shutting out the power of mischief, was for England to assume boldly her own appropriate office as the champion of freedom, and thus to present her figure in the eyes of those who were struggling to attain the precious boon. Invested with a sole authority by the address of the Greeks, and thereupon at once tendering, through Mr. Stratford Canning, his distinguished cousin, the mediation of England to the Porte, he at the same time sought to associate with himself as partner in his office that Power, who, as he well knew, had it in her hands either to make or mar his work.* The circumstances were in some respects propitious. Alexander, who had been perplexed with perpetual balancing between his Orthodox sympathies and his despotic covenants or leanings, died before the close of 1825: and Nicholas, his successor, expended the firstfruits of his young imperial energies in repelling the mediation of England as to his own quarrel with the Porte, but

* Compare Tricoupi, *Hellenikè Espanastasis*, III. 278.

also in accepting, with all the energy of his nature; that partnership in the patronage of the struggling Greeks, which was tendered to him by the Duke of Wellington on the part of the British Government.* In Greece itself, the effect is described by Tricoupi in few words: ἡ Ἑλλάς ἠγγλιζεν ὅλη: all Greece became English.**

Had Mr. Canning been a man of infirm purpose, or of narrow and peddling mind, he might readily have found excuses for disclaiming special concern in the quarrel between the Sultan and his subjects. The party by which Lord Liverpool's Government was supported did not sympathize with that or with any revolt. The Philhellenes of England were but a sect, limited in numbers and in influence. But, above all, there had been then no ground to fear lest Russia, by an affected or real protection, should shut out this country from her proper office. Russia had surrendered herself, in the main, to the debasing influence of Metternich.*** She had in 1823, in the character of an advocate for the Greek cause, produced a plan for dividing the country into three hospodariates, to be governed by native rulers, with the fortresses in the hands of Ottoman garrisons; and had even alleged, as a ground for its adoption, that it highly favoured the principal families, and would detach them from the interests of the insurrection. Its single merit was, that it covered the entire range of the Hellenic lands; but it seemed to give ground for the accusation of Finlay,† that its aim was to keep Greek feeling in a

* Compare Tricoupi, *Hellenikè Espanastasis*, iv. 2, 3.

** *Ibid.* iii. 267.

*** *La Russie et la Turquie*, p. 82.

† *Greek Revolution*, ii. 165.

state of chronic irritation, and thus to perpetuate the need of Russian intervention. At the outset of the war, the attitude of this great State had been one of undisguised hostility.* It not only dismissed Hyspialantes, who commanded in the Principalities, from the Russian army, and gave the necessary consent for the entry of Turkish troops into those provinces to put down the insurrection, but it ejected from Russian territory, under circumstances of great severity, a hundred and fifty Greeks, who were refused admission into Austria, and into the Sardinia of *that* day, and who only by means of private alms were enabled to return to their country.** But Russia had also controversies of its own with the Porte, arising out of the articles of the Treaty of Bukharest (1812), and indirectly those controversies favoured the cause of the insurrection, by requiring Turkish troops to be moved upon the northern frontier of the empire.

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Canning made his far-sighted appeal to the Czar. And it was by the concurrence of the two countries that the work received an impetus such as to secure success. In the month of April, 1826, an important protocol was signed at St. Petersburg, of which the leading terms are as follows. Greece shall be a tributary State, governed by authorities of its own choice, but with a certain influence reserved to the Porte in their appointment. The Greek people shall have the exclusive direction of their foreign relations. The lands of Turkish proprietors shall be purchased by the State. The Second article provides for an offer of mediation with the Porte; and the Third for the pro-

* Greek Revolution, I. 155 seqq. ** Ibid. II. p. 166; Gordon, II. p. 82,

secution of the plan already declared, should the Porte refuse the offer. The delimitation of territory is reserved. The two Governments renounce, by a happy covenant, imitated in 1840, and again at the outbreak of the Crimean War, all exclusive advantages, and all territorial aggrandisement. Lastly, the concurrence of the other three Great Powers is to be invited.* This protocol was followed, through the aid of British and French influence, by the Treaty of Akerman, which settled the outstanding differences between Russia, and the Porte, made further provision respecting the Principalities, and re-established in principle the autonomy of Servia.**

The offer of mediation agreed on in the protocol was refused by the Porte, which now relied on its military successes, and which had not to deal with an united Europe; though the France of the Bourbons, much to its honour, had associated itself with the Courts of England and of Russia. The refusal brought about the signature, in July, 1827, of the Treaty of London. This treaty was the great ornament of the too short-lived administration of Mr. Canning, as the policy, which it brought to decisive effect, was the crown of all his diplomacy. It provided for a renewed offer of good offices to the Porte, and for compulsory measures to give practical effect, in case of a renewed refusal, to the protocol of 1826. But, after not many days, Mr. Canning was no more.

Then followed in rapid succession the declaration of a compulsory armistice, the consequent destruction of the Turkish fleet by the battle of Navarino in No-

* *La Russie et la Turquie*, pp. 92-94.

** *Ibid.*, p. 95-101.

vember, the dismissal of the Ambassadors from Constantinople, the war declared in April, 1828, on Russian grounds, by the Czar, and the advance of his conquering armies to the conquest of Adrianople in August, 1829. At that point the Emperor Nicholas perceived from many signs, and doubtless among them from the attitude of England, the prudence of a halt. But to him and to his country, aided by the good offices of Prussia, redounded the final honour of including in the Russian Treaty of Peace the provisions of July, 1827. The tenth article of the Treaty of Adrianople is the international charter of the independent existence of Greece.* Though the Sultan had vaguely agreed to the concession before the Treaty, at the instance of England and France, yet his willingness to comply may be set down, in the main, to the formidable nearness of the Russian army.

A British subject can, as such, find little pleasure in tracing the later stages of the history. It is indeed easy to understand why in 1829, with Constantinople opened to the Russian armies, the British Government should have been disturbed; but it is not so easy either to comprehend or justify the rapid change of tone and feeling which followed the accession of the Duke of Wellington to power in January, 1828; and which stigmatized the battle of Navarino, in the Royal speech at the commencement of the session, as an untoward, though it was certainly an unexpected, event. An error, not perhaps more striking, but yet more grievous in its consequences, was the narrow amount of territory accorded to the new Kingdom, as if to abate at once the high hopes and rebuke the

* Finlay, *Greek Revolution*, II. 222; *La Russie et la Turquie*, pp. 102-113.

noble daring of its people, and to condemn the infant State to a deplorable weakness and perpetual tutelage.

Finlay says with truth that the Revolution of Greece was the people's revolution. They exhibited a tenacity and valour, not less than that of the American colonists in their famous revolt, which some despotic sovereigns showed themselves very ready to assist. We need not resent that assistance. It brought to a sharper and speedier crisis a war, which would otherwise have been interminable, between the two most tenacious and self-reliant races in the world. The same service was done to Turkey by the Three Powers; and from higher motives. Their abstinence would not have replaced the Sultan in a real sovereignty. Fortresses taken, armies discomfited, would have seemed to be, but would not have been the end. The mountain and the flood would have given refuge to their hardy children, and the contest would have been dispersedly but resolutely maintained by a race, to whom as yet, except in the Black Mountain, no equals in valour have appeared among the enslaved populations of the East. But if this was a notable resemblance, there was another yet more notable contrast, between the cases of America and Greece. The populations directly interested were not very different in number. Of quick and shrewd intellect there certainly was no lack in either. But the solid statesmen, the upright and noble leaders, who sprang forth in abundance to meet the need in the one case, were sadly wanting in the other. The colonists of America had been reared under a system essentially free, and they rose in resentment against an invasion of free-

dom but partial and comparatively slight; the revolted Hellenic population had for four centuries been crushed and ground down under a system, far from uniform in a thousand points, yet uniform only in this, that it was fatal to the growth of the highest excellence. It is in and by freedom only, that adequate preparation for fuller freedom can be made.

The uneasiness of Greece in its provisional condition, under Capodistrias as the President of a republican Government, was extreme; and diplomacy still did it a service, greater than perhaps it knew, in offering, or promoting the offer of, its crown to Prince Leopold* of Saxe Coburg, first among the statesmen-kings of his day, or perhaps his century. He accepted the Hellenic throne; but the intrigues of Capodistrias, in representing difficulties, and also in creating them, appear to have so far darkened the prospect as to have brought about his resignation. With that resignation passed away the hope of a brilliant infancy for Greece. The small number of princes, disposable for such a purpose as filling the Hellenic throne, was probably further reduced by the jealousies of reigning families and their States; and though the average capacity of the members of royal houses may be considerably above that of the community at large, but a very small part, out of a very small total, can be expected to rise to the standard of faculty and character required in order to meet the arduous calls of the situation. King Otho was neither a depraved nor a neglectful sovereign. But he had no conception of free government; the stage on which he had to act admitted only of its exhibition in Lilliputian propor-

* Finlay, II. 224; Tricoupi, IV. 380, 381.

tions: there were no indigenous statesmen suited to supply his deficiencies. Strangers were brought in for ministers; the spirit of faction, and, worst of all, of foreign faction, prevailed at the centre; absolutism was the medicine applied to the infirmities of the country; weakness and disorder were the result. And when a Constitution was established in 1843, it was alike premature and defective, both in itself, and in that it had to be worked by a sovereign incapable of comprehending it. In 1862 the patience of the people was finally exhausted, and King Otho disappeared. Perhaps it is only as from that year, that free Greece ought to be considered as put upon its trial. And even when the stage was thus cleared, and a sovereign of promise was at length secured for the country, it was the promise of boyhood only, and more years had to pass before the young King George attained the years of action.

This outline, so general and so slight, would require, of course, correction as well as development if made applicable to details. But some review of the past is necessary, in order to secure a fair chance of judging rightly of the present. And here we encounter a school of thought, whose maxim it is that the emancipation of Greece has resulted in a total failure. Let me now first show that competent judges have not thought so, and afterwards ask, whether this sentence of sweeping condemnation is warranted by the facts.

The Seven Islands, which bore the name of the Septinsular Republic, are scattered along the coast from Epirus to the extreme south of the Morea. They are independent in thought and feeling of one an-

other, and in the partition of the offices of government, under the British Protection, a keen rivalry prevailed. No one probably will be found to hold, that that chapter of our history is worthy of its general strain. Sometimes, when we preached constitutional doctrine to Continental sovereigns, the case of the Ionian Islands was cast in our teeth. It was at one time my duty to study carefully the history of the connection, and I must say that, though the general intentions of the Protecting Power were good, the reproach was in various respects well deserved; even down to a period, when King Tom and his system had been apparently repudiated. To share a common subordination is not a principle of common life. The islands had no other principle, except one, that of their Hellenic nationality. And this, which was a reality and an honour, some Englishmen were led absurdly to deny, because the Italian language was in use among the ruling class, with a very limited infusion, if any, of Italian blood. Why did we not, on the establishment of a free Greece, seize the opportunity of putting an end to a relation manifestly provisional, and relieving them and ourselves from a position false from the root upwards, by allowing them to take their natural place as part of the newly constituted State?

The question appears a reasonable one; yet we have no reason to suppose that even Mr. Canning contemplated such a measure. It is probable, that he found himself bound hand and foot by a military tradition, supposed to draw its origin from the great Napoleon. If Napoleon did indeed teach, as is said, the great military value of Corfu, it would be interest-

ing to observe at what period of his career he promulgated the doctrine. Was it after, or was it before, six or eight thousand of his veteran troops under Berthier were neutralized, for all the years from the French conquest to his abdication, by a couple (I believe) of small British vessels? * Even in the times of sailing ships, and of an artillery which has since been not so much improved as transformed, and with reference also to the monopolizing schemes of an aggressive power, it may be asked, what element of strength did Corfu secure for a possessor who had not the command of the sea? and what real addition did it make to the military resources of one who had it? Of the military burden, for a country like this, of maintaining garrisons of six or eight thousand men, whether in Corfu or in the islands collectively, it is needless that I should speak.

No man was more keenly sensitive than Lord Palmerston on subjects connected with military power, or more alive to the defective state and qualified progress of free Greece. Yet, in 1862, when first the prospect of free government in an effective form was opened for that country, he with Lord Russell proposed, and his Cabinet promptly agreed, to make arrangements for the surrender of the Protectorate, and the incorporation of the Seven Islands with the continental State. This was a practical witness to the judgment passed by that Cabinet, and especially of Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, on the hopefulness of the future for Greece. Had they not had

* These troops returned to France in 1814; and I found it currently stated in the islands, though I have never been able to ascertain the facts, that they were among the very first to join his standard on the arduous occasion of his return from Elba.

confidence in her prospects, they could not have deemed it wise and right to promote the transfer of the Ionian population from British protection to the rule of the young King.

But this was not all. It is within my knowledge that they were most desirous, even at that late period, to retrieve the error committed at the inception of the Hellenic State by the deplorable restriction of its territory. In no spirit of unfriendliness to the Porte, they wished for the assignment of Thessaly and Epiros to Greece, subject to the conditions of sovereignty and tribute. Our own surrender of the Protectorate gave us, in a measure, occasion to consider what arrangements might be most conducive to the general tranquillity of the East. Happy would it have been for all concerned if these opinions could have taken practical effect. But even with Governments the most advanced in civilization, the standard of wisdom as to territorial questions is not uniformly high. As gold for individuals, so land has for States a meretricious fascination.

Nothing could at that time have been gained by a public discussion of the subject. Indeed, it would have been ungenerous to Turkey, then, as was still hoped, seriously engaged in giving effect to the reforms she had so solemnly promised in 1856, to disturb the slumbering Eastern Question by mooting a plan of which a refusal, if made known, would have placed her in an invidious position. The position is now wholly different. She has herself trodden under foot those promises, bought from her with such an effusion of Western blood and treasure. She has completely liberated for free discussion both friends

and foes, and also such as, disclaiming either enmity or admiration, believe that her best chance of continuing to hold a position in Europe depends upon the speedy adoption of large and liberal arrangements for the virtual self-management of internal affairs in some or all of her European provinces. But I deem it also important to redeem, during the lifetime of his fellow-labourer, Earl Russell, the memory of Lord Palmerston from the wrong done it by those, who believe or argue that, if now alive, he would have been found to plead the obligation of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Power as paramount to the duty of granting to her afflicted subjects simple, broad, and effective guarantees for their personal and civil liberties.

Mr. Finlay, publishing in 1861 the History of the Greek Revolution, has complained that the progress of the country in industry and population had not then answered to the expectations formed of it. But he has nowhere uttered a word to imply that its emancipation was other than a great good conferred upon the Hellenic race, as well as a gain for Europe by the extinction of a flaming element of discord. I have adverted at various points to the faults, in Greece and out of it, which have restricted, but not destroyed, the fruits of the Canning policy. Yet let us not conceal from ourselves, that real and most important progress has, after all, been achieved.

At the time of the Revolution, not only did the whole dominant class, or rather the collected fragments of a dominant class, present, as their leading features, weakness, selfishness, and venality, but the people was partially barbarized, both by servitude,

and by the professions of the pirate and clepht; so that the war which they waged was terribly defaced by acts of cruelty. But the revolutions which they made, and justly made, in 1843 and in 1862, did them honour by their freedom from the taint of blood. Greece, internally considered, is now an element, not of disturbance, but of stability, in the Levant. As the country does not molest Europe, so the people, always sound at heart, do not molest the Government; but obey the laws, which, indeed, are borne better, perhaps, than they deserve. The evil of transitory ministries and shifting majorities is but a secondary symptom; and has often found its parallel in our own substantially well-governed, and always orderly, Australian colonies. Brigandage has, indeed, been greatly favoured both by the nature of the country, and by the strong countenance it received from traditions anterior to the Revolution, when it wore the guise of patriotism. But it had long since become occasional and limited, at the time when England was shocked and harrowed by a deplorable but single outrage, of a kind from which Italy has been but lately purged, and Sicily, we must fear, is not yet purged altogether. The venality, unblushing and almost universal among public men at Constantinople, hides its head in Athens, much as it did in England under Sir Robert Walpole. Recently detected in the gross transactions between certain ministers and certain bishops, it was brought to trial, and severely punished by the regular un-biassed action of the Courts. In this small and almost municipal State, the independence of the Judiciary appears to be placed beyond question; of itself an inestimable advantage. The higher Clergy live in

harmony with the State, the lower with the people; and the correspondence of our Foreign Office would show instances of their liberal feeling, such as are likely to exercise a beneficial influence upon Eastern Christendom at large. Their union with the people at large makes them an important element of strength to the social fabric. It was indeed an union cemented by suffering. On Easter Day, in April, 1821, the Patriarch Gregorios* was arrested in his robes, after divine service, and hanged at the gate of his own palace in Constantinople. After three days he was cut down, and his body delivered to a rabble of low Jews, who dragged it through the streets, and threw it into the sea. Gordon enumerates about twenty Bishops, who were massacred or executed by the Turks in the early stages of the Revolution.** As for the priests, they suffered everywhere, and first of all.***

The statistical record, moreover, of the progress of Greece, drawn from public sources, is far from being wholly unsatisfactory.

The population, which stood in 1834 at 650,000, had risen in 1870 to 1,238,000; that is to say, it had nearly doubled in thirty-six years; a more rapid rate of increase than that of Great Britain, and far beyond the ordinary European rate. With the Ionian Islands, Greece must now contain a number of souls considerably beyond a million and a half.

In 1830, Greece had 110 schools, with 9,249 scholars. In 1860, it had 752 schools, with 52,860

* Gordon, i. 187. Finlay, i. 230. Tricoupi, *Hellenikè Epanastasis*, vol. i. pp. 102-107, chap. vi.

** Gordon, i. 187, 188, 190, 194, 306.

*** *Ibid.*, i. 192.

scholars. The University of Athens, which in 1837 had 52 students, in 1866 could show 1,182.

The revenue, which was £275,000 in 1833, was £518,000 in 1845, and £1,283,000 in 1873; or probably about a million, after allowing for the Ionian Islands.

For the shipping and trade of Greece, the figures, though imperfect, are not unsatisfactory. The number of Greek seamen, augmented by the addition of the Ionian Islands, was in 1871 no less than 35,000. But before that annexation they were 24,000: or almost three times as many, in proportion to population, as those of the United Kingdom. The tonnage is over 400,000 for 1871. Before the union with the Ionian Islands, the imports and exports averaged for 1853-7, £1,546,000; but for 1858-62, £2,885,000. For 1867-71 they had risen to £4,662,000. That portion of Greek trade which is carried on with the United Kingdom, and which was in 1861 £923,000, had risen in 1871 to £2,332,000.

Neither, then, in a material, nor in a political and social view, is there any ground to regret the intervention of the Powers on behalf of Greece.

I will now resume the argument on the future of the Hellenic subjects of the Porte.

The title of the Armenians, and of the Hellenic provinces of the Ottoman Empire, to have their case considered at the approaching Conference, is not, as I have already stated, analogous to that of the Slavonic countries. For these have exhibited their claim in the most effective form, by rising against the Sultan, and by defeating, in two of them at least, his efforts to pacify them through desolation. Perhaps, in reason,

the identity of grievance might be taken for granted; but the Hellenes may justly be put to the proof. Will their *locus standi* so far be admitted at the Conference, as to allow them the opportunity of making good their case? Without prejudice to the general merits, it is plain that this admission cannot be withheld, if they are able to sustain, by adequate proof, the statements which were boldly assevered at the meeting in the Pnyx, but for which the evidence has not been disclosed to the world. Let us suppose, now, the question to stand for decision, at a meeting of the Conference, whether its care is to extend to any other than the Slavonic provinces. I will proceed to state some reasons, which might well give bias to an Englishman in favour of the affirmative; and especially to an Englishman slightly tinctured with Russophobia, or the kindred, but more advanced, disease of Turcomania.

In the first place, it is the judgment of the Ottoman Government that the changes it may be required to make shall extend to all the provinces of the empire. It will not be easy for that Government to claim that, when the immediate and primary case of the Slavs has been disposed of, the door shall be closed against others, whose equality of title she has herself asserted. Next as to Russia. It may be doubted whether her interests will render her anxious to widen the field of interposition. What generosity may prompt her to attempt, I dare not at present conjecture; but, as I believe she cannot always be exempt from the selfishness of which we ought sometimes to be very conscious in ourselves, so it has been well proved that the Emperor and his people

are open, certainly not less than we are, to the generous emotion which has recently, and I believe effectively, thrilled through this island.

With some very limited exceptions on the Austrian frontier, I apprehend it to be beyond doubt, that the hopes of the Christians in European Turkey have been directed either to this country or to Russia. As between the two, there are a variety of circumstances which might conceivably direct their hopes either to the one or to the other. It is too often and too hastily assumed, that they all work in the same line, the line leading towards Russia. My own belief is that these populations would all prefer aid from England, if it were to be had: all, even including Slavs and Wallachs. It is true that they both are united to Russia by a double tie; the Slavs by those of religion and of race, the Wallachs by the tie of religion and perhaps of recollection; for, though Russia may have used them in her own interest as tools against the Porte, it was to her power that they owed those local immunities, which put them in a condition to become, after the Treaty of Paris, a free State. But both even of these races have other ties with England: first, in the possession or desire of popular institutions; secondly, in that they have not to fear from her, even as possible, either absorption or aggression. But the Wallachs are happily out of the question; and as to the Slavs, I feel that it is vain to pursue the discussion with special reference to England, after the course which affairs have taken in 1875 and 1876.

The present inquiry is as to the Hellenic races; and here the matter stands very differently. Only in

a single point have they sympathies which would lead them by preference toward Russia; it is the point of religion. Were these countries within the Latin Church, community of religion might greatly weigh, for it would imply some antagonism to all other forms of Christianity. Within the Greek Church this is not so, because it is constituted on the original principle of local distribution, rejects the doctrine and practice of supremacy, and claims no jurisdiction beyond its own borders. Mr. Finlay speaks of the strong leaning of the Ionian population to Russia. This may have been true, and with very good reason for it, in the time of Sir Thomas Maitland; or in the Island which, according to Gordon,* "groaned for years under the iron rod of a wretch, whose odious tyranny would have disgraced a Turkish Pacha." But, by degrees, the treatment of the islanders by the English was greatly altered for the better. Eighteen years ago, I was engaged in a mission to the Islands, and became convinced that the notion of the prevalence of Russian leanings there was altogether visionary; that the desire of the people was to be Greeks in polity, as they were Greeks in blood and feeling, but that as long as they could not be politically Greeks they preferred an association with the British Crown to any other association whatsoever.

Since that time events most important in their bearing on the present inquiry have occurred in the department of ecclesiastical affairs. If, on the score of religion, there was then a qualified affinity with Russia, there is now a positive antagonism. The four or five millions of Bulgarians, who were then in their

* Vol. I. p. 318.

traditional intercommunion with the patriarchal see of Constantinople, are now severed from it by an ecclesiastical schism; and of that schism Russia is believed by the Hellenic race to have been, through its Ambassador, General Ignatieff, the most active and powerful fomentor. And this although it has been alleged that, a master of the *finesse* of diplomacy, and knowing the blind hostility of Ali Pacha to everything proposed or supported by Russia, he put the Porte on the side of the Bulgarians by advisedly taking himself the side of the Patriarch.*

It is remarkable that so little has been said or heard on this important subject in the West. The reason is that its direct consequences have been purely negative. The hundred eyes and hundred hands of the Curia were directed from Rome to the Balkan Peninsula, in the hope of profiting by the quarrel; but in vain. It is hardly asserted that M. Bourée, the French Ambassador, supported with all the influence, if not with the wealth, of his country, the Papal operations; but in vain.** The eighty or ninety millions of the Oriental Communion, though partially severed in communion, and even to a very small extent in doctrine, among themselves, form an united and impregnable phalanx as against the claims of the Papacy.

In the original outbreak of the Bulgarian quarrel, we may recognize on the part of that people a genuine aspiration of nationality. Under colour of obtaining more learned and competent men than could be found among an uninstructed population, a

* *Attention aux Balkans*: Bucharest, 1876, p. 14.

** *Ibid.* p. 15.

practice had grown up, dating from about a century and a half ago, of appointing Greek Fanariote bishops to Bulgarian sees. The demand of Bulgaria was, to take into its own hands the appointment of its Bishops, and of a chief Prelate with the title of Exarch. If I am correctly informed, it happened in the course of this controversy, as of many others, that right changed sides as it went on. The Patriarch offered that the Church of Bulgaria, like that of Russia and of Greece, should become an independent national Church; but stipulated that, like them, it should be limited within local boundaries. On the Bulgarian side it was contended that wherever there were Bulgarians, constituting a local majority, the jurisdiction of the national Church should extend. This claim directly traverses the principle of local distribution, on which the Oriental Church claims, in conformity with the Ante-Nicene Church, to be founded. The claim was refused. Excommunication followed. The Russian Church declined to support the sentence of the See of Constantinople. Another of the Patriarchs took the same view, and was deposed. Russia, having the means in her power, took an active part against the successor who was appointed. In a word, although the religion of the Bulgarians remains in doctrine and rites precisely what it was before, the tranquil East has been thrown into the abyss of ecclesiastical disturbance; and with a chief share in producing such a state of things the Russian influence is, whether justly or unjustly, credited. It is even stated that by confiscating the proceeds of estates in Bessarabia, Russia has deprived the Patriarch, and the Greek establishments in Roumelia, of a large part of their means of

subsistence;* not to mention the crowning allegation of this fierce Hellenizing adversary, which is that she desires to define an ecclesiastical Bulgaria reaching beyond the Balkans, in order that she may thus herself eventually control the mountain passes.

Now it is with Constantinople that the whole Hellenic race feels itself in matters of religion to be inseparably associated; it is in the strictest sense, notwithstanding the undue subserviency to the overweening pressure of the Porte which has at times and in certain respects lowered the dignity of that great See, an ecclesiastical centre to the Hellenic race, which resents every disparagement inflicted on it. So far therefore as religion is concerned, it is at this moment a ground of real and strong revulsion from Russia, not of attraction to it.

No full and accurate view of the questions connected with the Christian subjects of Turkey can be obtained without taking into count the dualism that subsists among them, as between Hellene and Slav. They are sharers in a common religion, and this bond of sympathy is primary. They are also sharers in their sufferings; but they are to some extent rivals in their dreams. Between them, they conceive themselves to have the heirship of Eastern Europe, and have some tendency to clash about the inheritance before the day of possession has arrived. The Slav is stronger in numbers: the Hellene feels that, during the long and rough night of the great calamity, the remaining genius of his race supplied the only lamps of light which flickered in the storm and in the gloom. As between Hellene and Turk, the Czar has borne the

* Attention aux Balkans, p. 21.

aspect of a champion: as between Hellene and Slav, he has rather the position of a possible adversary; and all the circumstances of the present moment accentuate and sharpen the outlines of that position. Only when the place of advocate has been altogether vacant, has the Hellenic race been disposed to give to Russia that position. The prospect of Russian predominance in the Levant is just as oppressive to their rising hopes, as that of a Greek Empire at Constantinople is distasteful even to the mighty and wide-ruling Emperor of all the Russias.*

I am arguing for others, rather than myself. I find abundant reasons, altogether apart from those which I have last advanced, for desiring that the opportunity of the present crisis should be used, after meeting its primary necessities, to act more broadly on ideas such as were unquestionably and strongly held by Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell in 1862, and to arrange with the Porte for the concession to the Hellenic Provinces of all that may be found reasonable. I am firmly convinced that the antagonism of interests between them and the ruling Power, which many assert and assume, does not in truth exist. The condition of Turkey is bad as matters now are: what would it have been if the festering sore of the Greek Revolution had been permitted to pass, by neglect, into a gangrene? I believe that Suzerainty over a large range of country would then have been better for both parties, than independence in a very small one: but that either the one or the other was better

* The Greek conception of Russian policy is pointedly expressed by Tricoupi, in reference to the project of 1823. *Hellenikè Epanastasis*, III. 189, chap. XII. Also III. 263.

than the doctrine that we have no more to do with a quarrel between the Sultan and his subjects than with any other similar quarrel, and than a practice in accordance with that doctrine. Why should we be alarmed at the sound of Suzerainty? It is a phrase of infinite elasticity. Even in the present Turkish Empire, Suzerainty exists in half-a-dozen different forms, as over Tunis, Egypt, Samos, Roumania, and Servia. What it implies is a practical self-management of all those internal affairs on which the condition of daily life depends, such as police and judiciary, with fixed terms of taxation, especially of direct and internal taxation, and with command over the levy of it. Where these points are agreed on, there is little left to quarrel about.

There is, therefore, for any who think in this way, ample ground for belief and action without reference to the position of this or that European power. But, in the minds of many, the actors have, as to the Eastern Question, a larger place than the acts. To them I desire to point out that, if they think it urgently required for England, in the face of Russia, to establish an independent position and influence in the Levant, by some more enduring means than vaunting menace or mere parade, or proclaiming schemes of the most unmitigated selfishness, they have now such an opportunity as never before was offered. Of that people who still fondle in their memories the names of Canning and of Byron, there are in the Levant we may safely say four millions, on whose affections we may take a standing hold, by giving a little friendly care at this juncture to the case of the Hellenic provinces. They want, not Russian institutions, but such a freedom as,

we enjoy. They want for their cause an advocate who is not likely to turn into an adversary; one whose temptations lie in other quarters; who cannot (as they fondly trust) ask anything from them, or in any possible contingency, through durable opposition of sympathies or interests, inflict anything upon them.*

The recollections of Lord Byron have been recently revived in England by a well-meant effort. Among them there is one peculiarly noble. It is that of his chivalrous devotion to the Greek cause; a devotion, of which his unsparing munificence was far from being the most conspicuous feature. In the days which preceded the revolutionary war, when Greece lay cold and stark in her tomb, her history and her fate drew forth from him some precious utterances of immortal song:—

“They fell devoted, but undying:
The very gale their names seemed sighing:
The waters murmured of their name;
The woods were peopled with their fame;
The silent pillar, lone and grey,
Claimed kindred with their sacred clay:
Their spirits wrapped the dusky mountain;
Their memory sparkled o'er the fountain:
The meanest rill, the mightiest river
Rolled mingling with their fame for ever:
Despite of every yoke she bears,
That land is glory's still, and theirs.”

These lines are from “The Siege of Corinth,”** published in 1816. More beautiful still, if more beautiful be possible, were the lines of 1813 in “The Giaour” from the image of a dead body, which began:—

“So fair, so calm, so softly sealed,
The first, last look by death revealed.”

* In the *Times* of November 18, will be found a report, copied from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, of a conversation, held by the reporter, with General Ignatieff. The degree of reliance due to it may be a question. But the sentiments towards the Greek provinces ascribed to that diplomatist were of the cold and discouraging character, which I should have anticipated.

** xv.

And his ever-wakeful Muse stood ready to greet the first effort of resuscitation. In "The Age of Bronze," written in 1823,* he hailed the revival thus:—

"'Tis the old aspiration breathed afresh
To kindle souls within degraded flesh,
Such, as repulsed the Persian from the shore
When Greece *was*—No! she still is Greece once more."

But Lord Byron brought to this great cause, the dawn of emancipation, for the East then all in grave-clothes, not only the enthusiasm of a poet, or the reckless daring of a rover. He treated the subject, which both shaped and absorbed the closing period of his life, with the strongest practical good sense, and with a profound insight, which has not been shamed by the results. It is not unnatural to suppose, that the knowledge of the lofty part he played may have been among the encouragements which brought into action the bold policy of Canning; nor to hope, that the contemplation of it may yet supply a guiding light to some British statesman called to open its capabilities, as well as to encounter its embarrassments,

"in una selva oscura
Che la diritta via era smarrita."**

* vi.

** Dante Inf. i. 2.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF LORD MACAULAY.

BY

HIS NEPHEW, GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M.P.

In Two Volumes. London 1876. Tauchnitz Edition, vol. 1571-74.
(*Quarterly Review*, July 1876.)

A PECULIAR faculty, and one approaching to the dramatic order, belongs to the successful painter of historical portraits, and belongs also to the true biographer. It is that of representing personality. In the picture, what we want is not merely a collection of unexceptionable lines and colours so presented as readily to identify their original. Such a work is not the man, but a duly attested certificate of the man. What we require, however, is the man and not merely the certificate. In the same way, what we want in a biography, and what, despite the etymology of the title, we very seldom find, is *life*. The very best transcript is a failure, if it be a transcript only. To fulfil its idea, it must have in it the essential quality of movement; must realise the lofty fiction of the divine Shield of Achilles, where the upturning earth, though wrought in metal, darkened as the plough went on, and the figures of the battle-piece dealt their strokes and parried them, and dragged out from the turmoil the bodies of their dead,

To write the biography of Lord Macaulay was a most arduous task. Such seems to have been the conception, with which it was approached; nor is it belied by the happy faculty with which it has been accomplished. Mr. Trevelyan had already achieved a reputation for conspicuous ability; and the honour of near relationship was in this case at least a guarantee for reverent and devoted love. But neither love, which is indeed a danger as well as an ally, nor intelligence, nor assiduity, nor forgetfulness of self, will make a thoroughly good biography, without this subtle gift of imparting life. By this it was that Boswell established himself as the prince of all biographers; by this Mr. Trevelyan has, we believe, earned for himself a place on what is still a somewhat scanty roll.

Beyond doubt, his subject has supplied him with great, and, to the general reader, unexpected advantages. The world was familiar in a high degree with the name of Lord Macaulay, and thought it knew the man, as one transcendent in much, and greatly eminent in all, that he undertook. With the essayist, the orator, the historian, the poet, the great social star, and even the legist, we were all prepared, in our anticipations of this biography, to renew an admiring acquaintance. But there lay behind all these what was in truth richer and better than them all—a marked and noble human character; and it has not been the well-known aspects, and the better-known works, of the man which Mr. Trevelyan has set himself to exhibit. He has executed a more congenial and delightful office in exhibiting *ad vivum* this personality, of which the world knew little, and of which its estimate, though never low, was, as has now been

shown, very far beneath the mark of truth. This is the pledge which he gives to his readers at the outset (vol. I. p. 3*):

“For every one who sat with him in private company, or at the transaction of public business, for every ten who have listened to his oratory in Parliament, or on the hustings, there must be tens of thousands whose interest in history and literature he has awakened and informed by his pen, and who would gladly know what *manner of man it was* that has done them so great a service. To gratify that most legitimate wish is the duty of those who have the means at their command His own letters will supply the deficiencies of the biographer.”

And the promise thus conveyed he redeems in some nine hundred and fifty pages,** which are too few rather than too many. In the greater part of the work, he causes Lord Macaulay to speak for himself. In the rest he is, probably for the reason that it was Lord Macaulay's custom to destroy the letters of his correspondents, nearly the sole interlocutor; and the setting will not disappoint those who admired, and are jealous for, the stones.

Lord Macaulay lived a life of no more than sixty years and three months. But it was an extraordinarily full life of sustained exertion—a high table-land without depressions. If in its outer aspect there be anything wearisome, it is only the wearisomeness of reiterated splendour, and of success so uniform as to be almost monotonous. He speaks of himself as idle; but his idleness was more active, and carried with it hour by hour a greater expenditure of brain-power, than what most men regard as their serious employ-

* The references to Trevelyan's "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," and to Macaulay's Works, are inserted from the *Tauschnitz Edition*.

** In the London Edition.

ments. He might well have been, in his mental career, the spoiled child of fortune; for all he tried succeeded, all he touched turned into gems and gold. In a happy childhood he evinced extreme precocity. His academical career gave sufficient, though not redundant, promise of after celebrity. The new golden age he imparted to the "Edinburgh Review," and his first and most important, if not best, parliamentary speeches in the grand crisis of the first Reform Bill, achieved for him, years before he had reached the middle point of life, what may justly be termed an immense distinction. For a century and more, perhaps no man in this country, with the exception of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Byron, had attained at thirty-two the fame of Macaulay. His parliamentary success and his literary eminence were each of them enough, as they stood at this date, to intoxicate any brain and heart of a meaner order. But to these was added in his case an amount and quality of social attentions such as invariably partake of adulation and idolatry, and as perhaps the high circles of London never before or since have lavished on a man whose claims lay only in himself, and not in his descent, his rank, or his possessions. Perhaps it was good for his mental and moral health that the enervating action of this process was suspended for four years. Although after his return from India in 1839 it could not but revive, he was of an age to bear it with less peril to his manhood. He seems at all times to have held his head high above the stir and the fascination, which excite and enslave the weak. His masculine intelligence, and his ardent and single-minded devotion to literature probably derived in this respect essential

aid from that depth and warmth of domestic affections, which lay nearer yet to the centre of his being.

Mr. Trevelyan has further promised us (i. 5) that he "will suppress no trait in his disposition, or incident in his career, which might provoke blame or question. . . . Those who best love him do not fear the consequences of freely submitting his character and his actions to the public verdict." The pledge is one which it was safe to give. It is with Macaulay the man that the biographer undertakes to deal, and not with Macaulay the author. Upon the structure of his mind, upon its extraordinary endowments and its besetting dangers, there is much that must or may be said, in tones of question and of warning, as well as of admiration and applause. But as regards the character and life of the man, small indeed is the space for animadversion; and the world must be more censorious than we take it to be if, after reading these volumes, it does not conclude with thankfulness and pleasure that the writer who had so long ranked among its marvels has also earned a high place among its worthies.

He was, indeed, prosperous and brilliant; a prodigy, a meteor, almost a portent, in literary history. But his course was laborious, truthful, simple, independent, noble; and all these in an eminent degree. Of the inward battle of life he seems to have known nothing; his experience of the outward battle, which had reference to money, was not inconsiderable, but it was confined to his earlier manhood. The general outline of his career has long been familiar, and offers neither need nor scope for detail. After four years of high parliamentary distinction, and his first assumption of office, he accepted a lucrative appoint-

ment in India, with a wise view to his own pecuniary independence, and a generous regard to what might be, as they had been, the demands of his nearest relations upon his affectionate bounty. Another term of four years brought him back, the least Indian, despite of his active labours upon the legislative code, of all the civilians who had ever served the Company. He soon re-entered Parliament; but his zest for the political arena seems never to have regained the temperature of his virgin love at the time of the Reform Bill. He had offered his resignation of office during the debates on the Emancipation Act, at a time when salary was of the utmost importance to him, and for a cause which was far more his father's than his own. This he did with a promptitude, and a manly unconsciousness of effect or merit in the act, which were truly noble. Similar was his dignified attitude, when his constituents of Edinburgh committed their first fault in rejecting him on account of his vote for Maynooth. This was in 1847. At the general election in 1852, they were again at his feet; as though the final cause of the indignity had been only to enhance the triumph of his re-election. Twice at least in the House of Commons he arrested the successful progress of legislative measures, and slew them at a moment's notice and by his single arm. The first was the Copyright Bill of Serjeant Talfourd in 1841; the second, the Bill of 1853 for excluding the Master of the Rolls from the House of Commons. But whenever he rose to speak, it was a summons to fill the benches. He retired from the House of Commons in 1856. At length, when in 1857 he was elevated by Lord Palmerston to the Peerage, all the world of let-

ters felt honoured in his person. The claims of that which he felt to be indeed his profession acquired an increasing command on him, as the interests of political life grew less and less. Neither was social life allowed greatly to interfere with literary work, although here, too, his triumphs were almost unrivalled. Only one other attraction had power over him, and it was a lifelong power—the love of his sisters, which about the mid-point of life came to mean of his sister, Lady Trevelyan. As there is nothing equally touching, so there is really nothing more wonderful in the memoirs, than the large, the immeasurable abundance of this gushing stream. It is not surprising that the full reservoir overflowed upon her children. Indeed he seems to have had a store of this love that could not be exhausted (III. 247) for little children generally; his simplicity and tenderness vying all along in graceful rivalry with the manly qualities, which in no one were more pronounced. After some forewarnings, a period of palpable decline, which was brief as well as tranquil, brought him to his end on the 28th of December, 1859.

With these few words we part from the general account of Macaulay's life. It is not the intention of this article to serve for lazy readers, instead of the book which it reviews. In the pages of Mr. Trevelyan they will find that which ought to be studied, and can hardly be abridged. They will find too, let us say in passing, at no small number of points, the nearest approach within our knowledge, not to the imitation but to the reproduction of an inimitable style. What remains for critics and observers is to interpret the picture which the biography presents. For it offers to us much matter of wide human interest, even beyond

and apart from the numerous questions which Macaulay's works would of themselves suggest.

One of the very first things that must strike the observer of this man is, that he was very unlike to any other man. And yet this unlikeness, this monopoly of the model in which he was made, did not spring from violent or eccentric features of originality, for eccentricity he had none whatever, but from the peculiar mode in which the ingredients were put together to make up the composition. In one sense, beyond doubt, such powers as his famous memory, his rare power of illustration, his command of language, separated him broadly from others; but gifts like these do not make the man; and we now for the first time know that he possessed, in a far larger sense, the stamp of a real and strong individuality. The most splendid and complete assemblage of intellectual endowments does not of itself suffice to create an interest of the kind that is, and will be, now felt in Macaulay. It is from ethical gifts alone that such an interest can spring. They existed in him not only in abundance, but in forms distinct from, and even contrasted with, the fashion of his intellectual faculties, and in conjunctions which come near to paradox. Behind the mask of splendour lay a singular simplicity; behind a literary severity which sometimes approached to vengeance, an extreme tenderness; behind a rigid repudiation of the sentimental, a sensibility at all times quick, and in the latest times almost threatening to sap his manhood. He, who as speaker and writer seemed above all others to represent the age and the world, had the real centre of his being in the simplest domestic tastes and joys.

He, for whom the mysteries of human life, thought, and destiny appear to have neither charm nor terror, and whose writings seem audibly to boast in every page of being bounded by the visible horizon of the practical and work-day sphere, in his virtues and in the combination of them, in his freshness, bounty, bravery, in his unshrinking devotion both to causes and to persons, and most of all, perhaps, in the thoroughly inborn and spontaneous character of all these gifts, really recalls the age of chivalry and the lineaments of the ideal. The peculiarity, the *differentia* (so to speak), of Macaulay seems to us to lie in this, that while, as we frankly think, there is much to question—nay, much to regret or even censure in his writings—the excess or defect, or whatever it may be, is never really ethical, but is in all cases due to something in the structure and habits of his intellect. And again it is pretty plain that the faults of that intellect were immediately associated with its excellencies: it was in some sense, to use the language of his own Milton, “dark with excessive bright.”*

Macaulay was singularly free of vices, and not in the sense in which, according to Swift’s note on Burnet, William III. held such a freedom; that is to say, “as a man is free of a corporation.” One point only we reserve; a certain tinge of occasional vindictiveness. Was he envious? Never. Was he servile? No. Was he insolent? No. Was he prodigal? No. Was he avaricious? No. Was he selfish? No. Was he idle? The question is ridiculous. Was he false? No; but true as steel and transparent as crystal. Was he vain? We hold that he was not. At every point in

* “Paradise Lost,” III. 380.

the ugly list he stands the trial; and though in his history he judges mildly some sins of appetite or passion, there is no sign in his life, or his remembered character, that he was compounding for what he was inclined to.

The most disputable of the negatives we have pronounced is that which relates to vanity; a defect rather than a vice; never admitted into the septenary catalogue of the mortal sins of Dante and the Church; often lodged by the side of high and strict virtue, often allied with an amiable and playful innocence; a token of imperfection, a deduction from greatness; and no more. For this imputation on Macaulay there are apparent, but, as we think, only apparent, grounds.

His moderation in luxuries and pleasures is the more notable and praiseworthy because he was a man who, with extreme healthiness of faculty, enjoyed keenly what he enjoyed at all. Take in proof the following hearty notice of a dinner *a quattr' occhi* to his friend:—"Ellis came to dinner at seven. I gave him a lobster-curry, woodcock, and macaroni.* I think that I will note dinners, as honest Pepys did" (iv. 2; compare iv. 48).

His love of books was intense, and was curiously developed. In a walk he would devour a play or a volume (iv. 54, 68, 48). and once his performance embraced no less than fourteen Books of the "Odyssey" (vol. iv. 64). "His way of life," says Mr. Trevelyan, "would have been deemed solitary by others; but it was not solitary to him" (iv. 264). This development blossomed into a peculiar specialism (iv. 264). Hen-

* On this word *vide* note, p. 65.

erson's "Iceland" was "a favourite breakfast-book" with him. "Some books, which I would never dream of opening at dinner, please me at breakfast, and *vice versa!*" There is more subtlety in this distinction than could easily be found in any passage of his writings. But how quietly both meals are handed over to the dominion of the master-propensity! This devotion, however, was not without its drawbacks. Thought, apart from books and from composition, perhaps he disliked, certainly he eschewed. Crossing that evil-minded sea, the Irish Channel, at night in rough weather, he is disabled from reading: he wraps himself in a pea-jacket and sits upon the deck. What is his employment? He cannot sleep, or does not. What an opportunity for moving onwards in the processes of thought, which ought to weigh on the historian. The wild yet soothing music of the waves would have helped him to watch the verging this way or that of the judicial scales, or to dive into the problems of human life and action which history continually casts upon the surface. No, he cared for none of this. He set about the marvellous feat of going over "Paradise Lost" from memory; when he found he could still repeat half of it (iv. 27). In a word, he was always conversing, or recollecting, or reading, or composing; but reflecting, never.

The laboriousness of Macaulay as an author demands our gratitude; all the more because his natural speech was in sentences of set and ordered structure, well-nigh ready for the press. It is delightful to find, that the most successful prose-writer of the day was also the most painstaking. Here is indeed a literary conscience. The very same grati-

fiction may be expressed with reference to our most successful poet, Mr. Tennyson. Great is the praise due to the poet: still greater, from the nature of the case, that share which falls to the lot of Macaulay. For a poet's diligence is, all along, a honeyed work. He is ever travelling in flowery meads. Macaulay, on the other hand, unshrinkingly went through an immense mass of inquiry, which even he sometimes felt to be irksome, and which to most men would have been intolerable. He was perpetually picking the grain of corn out of the bushel of chaff. He freely chose to undergo the dust, and heat, and strain of battle, before he would challenge from the public the crown of victory. And in every way it was remarkable that he should maintain his lofty standard of conception and performance. Mediocrity is now, as formerly, dangerous, commonly fatal, to the poet: but among even the successful writers of prose, those who rise sensibly above it are the very rare exceptions. The tests of excellence in prose are as much less palpable, as the public appetite is less fastidious. Moreover, we are moving downwards in this respect. The proportion of middling to good writing constantly and rapidly increases. With the average of performance, the standard of judgment progressively declines. The inexorable conscientiousness of Macaulay, his determination to put out nothing from his hand which his hand was still capable of improving, was a perfect godsend to our slipshod generation.

It was naturally consequent upon this habit of treating composition in the spirit of art, that he should extend to the body of his books much of the regard and care which he so profusely bestowed upon their

soul. We have accordingly had in him, at the time when the need was greatest, a most vigilant guardian of the language. We seem to detect rare and slight evidences of carelessness in his Journal: of which we can only say that, in a production of the moment, written for himself alone, we are surprised that they are not more numerous and considerable. In general society, carelessness of usage is almost universal, and it is exceedingly difficult for an individual, however vigilant, to avoid catching some of the trashy or faulty usages which are continually in his ear. But in his published works his grammar,* his orthography, nay, his punctuation (too often surrendered to the printer), are faultless. On these questions, and on the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a word, he may even be called an authority without appeal; and we cannot doubt that we owe it to his works, and to

* In an unpublished paper on "Appointment by Competition," we find (at II. 342) the following sentence: "*Instead of purity resulting from that arrangement to India, England itself would soon be tainted.*" Can the construction, of which the words we have italicised are an example, be found anywhere in the published works of Macaulay? Or in any writer of fair repute before the present century? Or even before the present day? Let any one, who desires to test its accuracy, try to translate it into a foreign language. Fonblanque, who was laudably jealous for our noble mother tongue, protested against this usage. His editor records the protest; and in the next page himself commits the crime. We find another example in Macaulay's letter to his father at p. 180 of vol. 1. "All minds seem to be perfectly made up as to the certainty of *Catholic Emancipation having come at last.*" This very slovenly form of speech is now coming in upon us like a flood, through the influence of newspapers, official correspondence, and we know not what beside. As to errors of printing not obviously due to the operative department, during our searches in preparation for this article we have only chanced to stumble upon one; in the Essay on Bacon, the word *ἀποπροηγμένα* is twice printed with the accent on the *antepenultima*. Mr. Trevelyan records the rigour with which Macaulay proscribed 'Bosphorus' instead of Bosphorus, and Syren instead of Siren. In the interests of extreme accuracy, we raise the question whether Macaulay himself is correct in writing *macaroni* (iv. 2) instead of *maccaroni*. *Macaroni* is according to the French usage, and is referred by Webster to *μάκαρ*, a derivation which we utterly reject. But the original word is Italian, and is derived from *macca*, signifying abundance or heap (see the admirable 'Tramater' Dictionary, Naples, 1831).

their boundless circulation, that we have not witnessed a more rapid corruption and degeneration of the language.

To the literary success of Macaulay it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of recent authorship. For this, and probably for all future centuries, we are to regard the public as the patron of literary men; and as a patron abler than any that went before to heap both fame and fortune on its favourites. Setting aside works of which the primary purpose was entertainment, Tennyson alone among the writers of our age—in point of public favour, and of emolument following upon it—comes near to Macaulay. But Tennyson was laboriously cultivating his gifts for many years before he acquired a position in the eye of the nation. Macaulay fresh from college, in 1825, astonished the world by his brilliant and most imposing essay on Milton. Full-orbed he was seen above the horizon; and full-orbed, after thirty-five years of constantly-emitted splendour, he sank beneath it. His literary gains were extraordinary. The cheque for 20,000*l.* is known to all. But his accumulation was reduced by his bounty; and his profits would, it is evident, have been far larger still, had he dealt with the products of his mind on the principles of economic science (which, however, he heartily professed), and sold his wares in the dearest market, as he undoubtedly acquired them in the cheapest. No one can measure the elevation of Macaulay's character above the mercenary level, without bearing in mind, that for ten years after 1825 he was a poor and a contented man, though ministering to the wants of a father and a family reduced in circumstances; though

in the blaze of literary and political success; and though he must have been conscious from the first of the possession of a gift which, by a less congenial and more compulsory use, would have rapidly led him to opulence. Yet of the comforts and advantages, both social and physical, from which he thus forebore, it is so plain that he at all times formed no misanthropic or ascetic, but on the contrary a very liberal, estimate. It is truly touching to find that never, except as a Minister, until 1851 (iv. 59, 60), when he had already lived fifty of his sixty years, did this favourite of fortune, this idol of society, allow himself the luxury of a carriage.

It has been observed, that neither in art nor letters did Macaulay display that faculty of the higher criticism, which depends upon certain refined perceptions and the power of subtle analysis. His analysis was always rough, hasty, and sweeping, and his perceptions robust. By these properties it was that he was so eminently *φορτικός*, not in the vulgar sense of an appeal to spurious sentiment, but as one bearing his reader along by violence, as the River Scamander tried to bear Achilles. Yet he was never pretentious; and he said frankly of himself, that a criticism like that of Lessing in his *Laocoon*, or of Goethe on *Hamlet*, filled him with wonder and despair. His intense devotion to the great work of Dante (iii. 27) is not in keeping with his tastes and attachments generally, but is in itself a circumstance of much interest.

We remember, however, at least one observation of Macaulay's, in regard to art, which is worth preserving. He observed that the mixture of gold with

ivory in great works of ancient art—for example, in the Jupiter of Phidias—was probably a condescension to the tastes of the people who were to be the worshippers of the statue; and he noticed that in Christian times it has most rarely happened that productions great in art have also been the objects of warm popular veneration.

Neither again had he patience for the accurate collection of minute particulars of evidence, to disentangle an intricate controversy, and by the recovery of the thread to bring out the truth. He neither could, nor would have done, for example, what Mr. Elwin has done in that masterly Preface to the Letters of Pope, which throws so much light upon the character.* All such questions he either passed by unnoticed, or else carried by storm. He left them to the Germans, of whose labours he possessed little knowledge, and formed a very insufficient estimate. His collection of particulars was indeed most minute, but he was the master, not the servant, of his subject-matter. When once his rapid eye was struck with some powerful effect, he could not wait to ascertain whether his idea, formed at a first view, really agreed with the ultimate presentation of the facts. If, however, he wrote many a line that was untrue, never did he write one that he did not believe to be true. He very rarely submitted to correct or to retract; and yet not because he disliked it, but simply because, from the habits of his mind, he could not see the need of it. Nothing can be more ingenuous, for example, than the following passage, written when

* "The Works of Alexander Pope. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. Whitwell Elwin."

he was at the very zenith of his fame (IV. 237), in 1858:

“To-day I got a letter from —, pointing out what I must admit to be a gross impropriety of language in my book; an impropriety of a sort rare, I hope, with me. It shall be corrected; and I am obliged to the fellow, little as I like him.”

If then Macaulay failed beyond many men inferior to himself in the faculty (as to his works) of self-correction, what was the cause of this defect? It certainly did not lie in any coarse, outward, vulgar view of his calling.

It was not in such a spirit that Macaulay wooed the Muses. In whatever garb he wooed them, it was always in the noble worship of the Georgics, as the divinities—

“*Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore.*”

Though, relatively to the common standard of literary production, his very worst would have been good, his taste and his principle alike forbade him to be satisfied with less than his best. His conception of the vocation was lofty to the uttermost; his execution was in the like degree scrupulous and careful. Nowhere, perhaps, can we find a more true description of the motive which impels a great writer, than in the fine thought of Filicaja:

“*Fama non cerco o mercenaria lode,*”

that poet was content to sing for love of singing—

“*Purch' io cantando del bell' Arno in riva
Sfoghi l' alto desio che 'l cor mi rode.*”

He could not, indeed, have accepted that portion of the Italian minstrel's “self-denying ordinance” which dispensed with Fame. With the entire and

peculiar force of his fancy, he projected in his mental vision the renown which the future was to bring him; and, having thus given body to his abstraction, allowed himself to dwell on it with rich enjoyment, as on some fair and boundless landscape. On the publication of his History, he felt as in all its fulness, so in all its forms,

"La procellosa e trepida
Gioia d' un gran disegno."*

"The sale has surpassed expectation; but that proves only that people have formed a high idea of what they are to have. The disappointment, if there is disappointment, will be great. All that I hear is laudatory. But who can trust to praise that is poured into his own ear? At all events, I have aimed high. I have tried to do something that may be remembered. I have had the year 2000, and even the year 3000, often in my mind. I have sacrificed nothing to temporary fashions of thought and style; and, if I fail, my failure will be more honourable than nine-tenths of the successes that I have witnessed."—(IV. 5, 6.)

Yet we infer from the general strain of his Journals and Letters, that even had there been no such thing as fame in his view, he still would have written for the sake of writing; that for him reputation was to work, what pleasure properly is to virtue—the normal sequel, the grace and complement of the full-formed figure, but not its centre nor its heart.

We have spoken of some contrast between Macaulay himself and his works. It cannot be more fairly illustrated than in an instance which Mr. Trevelyan, true to his pledge, has not shrunk from exhibiting. Macaulay used the lash with merciless severity against the poems of Robert Montgomery; and it entered deeply into the flesh of the man. Like "poor Yorick,"

* Manzoni's "Cinque Maggio."

there are those who remember Montgomery, and who can say of him this, that if he was not, as he was not, "a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy," he was a man of pure and high character, and of natural gifts much above the common. If his style was affected, his life was humble. He committed the fault of publishing, as hundreds do, indifferent verses; and the popular press of the day, with the public at its back, offered an absurd worship before the idol. But he was an idol; and Macaulay, as the minister of justice for the welfare of the republic of letters, hurled him from the pedestal into an abyss. It was, we have not a doubt, without a shadow of ill-feeling towards the culprit that the judge, in this instance, put on the black-cap of doom. We very much regret, that when Montgomery subsequently appealed for mercy, although it seems he had the folly to intermix some kind of menace with his prayer, Macaulay (iv. 42) refused to withdraw his article, which had more than served its purpose, from the published collection of his Essays; so that this bad poet, but respectable and respected man, is not allowed the sad privilege of oblivion, and the public are still invited to look on and see the immortal terrier worrying the mortal mouse. We have here an example of the inability of Macaulay to judge according to measure. But this is not the point we seek to illustrate. What was the fault of Robert Montgomery? It certainly did not lie in the adulation he received; that was the fault of those who paid it. It lay simply and wholly in the publication of bad poems. And chiefly of the first bad poem; for when public praise told him his lines were good, and enabled him to go to Oxford for

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education with the proceeds, it was surely a most venial act on his part to give way to the soft illusion, and again and again to repeat the operation. His sin, then, was in giving a bad poem to the world. For this sin he was, as Scott says, "sair mashackered and misguggled" by the reviewer. But the very offence, so mercilessly punished by Macaulay the author, was habitually favoured and promoted by Macaulay the man. See his Journal (in or about 1856, IV. 203).

"I sent some money to Miss——, a middling writer, whom I relieved some time ago . . . Mrs. —— again. I will send her five pounds more. This will make fifty pounds in a few months to a bad writer whom I never saw . . . If the author of —— is really in distress I would gladly assist him, though I am no admirer of his poetry."

There is no way of promoting the publication of bad books so effectual as that of giving subsidies to those who mistake their vocation in becoming and continuing bad authors.

There is, indeed, one patent, and we might almost say lamentable void in the generally engaging picture which the "Life of Macaulay" has presented to us. We see his many virtues, his deep affections, his sound principles of civil, social, and domestic action in full play; nor is there anywhere found, or even suggested, a negation of those great principles of belief, which establish a direct personal relation between the human soul and its Creator, and an harmonious continuity between our present stage of destiny and that which is to succeed it in the world to come. Mr. Trevelyan has noticed his habitual reserve on subjects of religion; a habit perhaps first contracted in self-defence against the rather worrying methods

of his excellent, but not sympathetic, nor always judicious father. He speaks of Bacon's belief of Revelation, in words which appear to imply that the want of it would have been a reproach or a calamity; and, when challenged as to his own convictions before the constituency of Leeds, he went as far, in simply declaring himself to be a Christian, as the self-respect and delicacy of an honourable and independent mind could on such an occasion permit. He nowhere retracts what is thus stated or suggested. Much may be set down to the reserve which he commonly maintained on this class of subjects; but there are passages which suggest a doubt whether he had completely wrought the Christian dogma, with all its consolations and its lessons, into the texture of his mind, and whether he had opened for himself the springs of improvement and of delight which so many have found, and will ever find, in it. At the same time, with a sigh for what we have not, we must be thankful for what we have, and leave to One, wiser than ourselves, the deeper problems of the human soul and of its discipline.

We are free, however, to challenge outright the declaration of Mr. Trevelyan, that his uncle had a decided and strong taste for theology. "He had a strong and enduring predilection for religious speculation and controversy, and was widely and profoundly read in ecclesiastical history" (IV. 261). For all controversy, and for all speculation which partook of controversy, he manifestly had not a sour or querulous, but a genial and hearty love. And again, as respects ecclesiastical history; in many of its phases it constitutes a part, and a leading part, of the history

of the world. What records the origin of the wars of the Investitures, the League, and the Thirty Years, could not be foreign to the mind and eye of Macaulay. But very large tracts of Church History lie outside the currents of contemporary events, though they involve profoundly the thoughts and feelings, the training and the destiny of individual men. Of all these it would be hard to show that he had taken any serious account at all. It must be admitted, indeed, that no department of human records has on the whole profited so little as Church History by the charms, perhaps even by the methods, of literary art; but Macaulay, if he had desired to get at the kernel, was not the man to be repelled by the uncouth rudeness of the shell. As respects theology, the ten volumes of his published works do nothing to bear out the assertion of Mr. Trevelyan. We have ourselves heard him assert a paradox which common sense and established opinion alike reject, that the theology of the Seventeenth Article was the same as that of the portentous code framed at Lambeth about the close of the sixteenth century. A proof yet more conclusive of a mind, in which the theological sense had never been trained or developed, is supplied by his own contemptuous language respecting a treatise which has ever been regarded as among the gems of Christian literature. "I have read Augustine's 'Confessions.' The book is not without interest. But he expresses himself in the style of a field preacher" (II. 256).

And again, he rather contemptuously classes the great Father with the common herd of those who record their confessions, or, in the cant phrase, their

experience. He had indeed no admiration, and but little indulgence, for any of these introspective productions. They lay in a region which he did not frequent; and yet they are among not only the realities, but the deepest and most determining realities, of our nature. We reckon his low estimate of this inward work as betokening the insufficient development of his own powerful mind in that direction.

It has been felt and pointed out in many quarters that Macaulay, as a writer, was the child, and became the type, of his country and his age. As, fifty years ago, the inscription "Bath" used to be carried on our letter-paper, so the word "English" is as it were in the water-mark of every leaf of Macaulay's writing. His country was not the Empire, nor was it the United Kingdom. It was not even Great Britain, though he was descended in the higher, that is the paternal, half from Scottish ancestry, and was linked specially with that country through the signal virtues, the victorious labours, and the considerable reputation of his father Zachary. His country was England. On this little spot he concentrated a force of admiration and of worship, which might have covered all the world. But as in space, so in time, it was limited. It was the England of his own age. The higher energies of his life were as completely summed up in the present, as those of Walter Scott were projected upon the past. He would not have filled an Abbotsford with armour and relics of the middle ages. He judges the men and institutions and events of other times by the instruments and measures of the present. The characters whom he admires are those who would have

conformed to the type that was before his eyes, who would have moved with effect in the court, the camp, the senate, the drawing-room of to-day. He contemplates the past with no *desiderium*, no regretful longing, no sense of things admirable, which are also lost and irrecoverable. Upon this limitation of his retrospects it follows in natural sequence that of the future he has no glowing anticipations, and even the present he is not apt to contemplate in its mysterious and ideal side. As in respect to his personal capacity of loving, so in regard to the corresponding literary power. The faculty was singularly intense, and yet it was spent within a narrow circle. There is a marked sign of this narrowness in his disinclination even to look at the works of contemporaries whose tone or manner he disliked. It appears that this dislike, and the ignorance consequent upon it, applied to the works of Carlyle. Now we may have little faith in Carlyle as a philosopher or as an historian. Half-lights and half-truths may be the utmost which in these departments his works will be found to yield. But the total want of sympathy is the more noteworthy, because the resemblances, though partial, are both numerous and substantial between these two remarkable men and powerful writers, as well in their strength as in their weakness. Both are honest, and both, notwithstanding honesty, are partisans. Each is vastly, though diversely, powerful in expression; and each is more powerful in expression than in thought. Both are, though variously, poets in prose. Both have the power of portraiture, extraordinary for vividness and strength. For comprehensive disquisition, for balanced and impartial judgments, the world will

probably resort to neither; and if Carlyle gains on the comparison in his strong sense of the inward and the ideal, he loses in the absolute and violent character of his oneness. Without doubt, Carlyle's licentious, though striking, peculiarities of style have been of a nature allowably to repel, so far as they go, one who was so rigid as Macaulay in his literary orthodoxy, and who so highly appreciated, and with such expenditure of labour, all that relates to the exterior or body of a book. Still if there be resemblances so strong, the want of appreciation, which has possibly been reciprocal, seems to be of that nature which Aristotle would have explained by his favourite proverb: *κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ*. The discrepancy is like the discrepancy of colours that are too near. Carlyle is at least a great fact in the literature of his time, and has contributed largely, in some respects too largely, towards forming its characteristic habits of thought. But on these very grounds he should not have been excluded from the horizon of a mind like Macaulay's, with all its large, and varied, and most active interests.

His early training, and consequently the cast of his early opinions, was Conservative. But these views did not survive his career at Cambridge as an undergraduate. No details are given, but we hear that, during that period, Mr. Charles Austin effected, it would seem with facility, the work of his conversion (i. 92). He supplied an example rather rare of one who, not having been a Whig by birth, became one, and thereafter constantly presented the aspect of that well-marked class of politicians. *Poeta nascitur, orator fit*; and so as a rule a man not born a Liberal, may

become a Liberal; but to be a Whig, he must be a born Whig. At any rate Macaulay offers to our view one of the most enviable qualities characteristic of that "variety" of the Liberal "species"—a singularly large measure of consistency. In this he will bear comparison with Lord Lansdowne or Lord Grey; but in proportion as the pressure of events is sharper on a Commoner than on a Peer, so the phenomenon of consistency is more remarkable. And the feature belongs to his mental character at large. It would be difficult to point out any great and signal change of views on any important subject between the beginning of his full manhood, and the close of his career. His life is like a great volume; the sheets are of one size, type, and paper. Here again Macaulay becomes for us a typical man, and suggests the question whether the conditions of our nature will permit so close and sustained an unity to be had without some sacrifice of expansion? The feature is rendered in his case more noteworthy by the fact that all his life long, with an insatiable avidity, he was taking in whole cargoes of knowledge, and that nothing which he imported into his mind remained there barren and inert. On the other hand, he was perhaps assisted, or, as a censor might call it, manacled, by the perpetual and always living presence in his consciousness, through the enormous tenacity of his memory, of whatever he had himself thought, said, or written, at an earlier time. It may even be, as he himself said, that of the whole of this huge mass he had forgotten nothing. It cannot be doubted that he remembered a far larger proportion, than did other men who had ten or twenty times less to remember. And there was this peculi-

arity in his recollections; they were not, like those of ordinary men, attended at times with difficulty, elicited from the recesses of the brain by effort. He was alike favoured in the quantity of what he possessed, and in the free and immediate command of his possessions. The effect was most singular. He was (as has been variously shown) often inaccurate: he was seldom, perhaps never, inconsistent. He remembered his own knowledge, in the modern phrase his own concepts, better than he retained, if indeed he ever had embraced, the true sense of the authorities on which these "concepts" were originally framed. In the initial work of collection, he was often misled by fancy or by prejudice; but in the after work of recollection, he kept faithfully, and never failed to grasp at a moment's notice, the images which the tablets of his brain, so susceptible and so tenacious, had once received. *Diù servavit odorem.* Among Macaulay's mental gifts and habits, it was perhaps this vast memory by which he was most conspicuously known. There was here even a waste of power. His mind, like a dredging-net at the bottom of the sea, took up all that it encountered, both bad and good, nor even seemed to feel the burden. Peerless treasures lay there, mixed, yet never confounded, with worthless trash. This was not the only peculiarity of the wondrous organ.

There have been other men of our own generation, though very few, who, without equalling, have approached Macaulay in power of memory, and who have certainly exceeded him in the unflinching accuracy of their recollections. And yet not in accuracy as to dates, or names, or quotations, or other matters of

hard fact, when the question was one simply between aye and no. In these he may have been without a rival. In a list of Kings, or Popes, or Senior Wranglers, or Prime Ministers, or battles, or palaces, or as to the houses in Pall Mall, or about Leicester Square, he might be followed with implicit confidence. But a large and important class of human recollections are not of this order; recollections for example of characters, of feelings, of opinions; of the intrinsic nature, details, and bearings of occurrences. And here it was that Macaulay's wealth "was unto him an occasion of falling." And that in two ways. First the possessor of such a vehicle as his memory could not but have something of an overweening confidence in what it told him; and quite apart from any tendency to be vain or overbearing, he could hardly enjoy the benefits of that caution which arises from self-interest, and the sad experience of frequent falls. But what is more, the possessor of so powerful a fancy could not but illuminate with the colours it supplied the matters which he gathered into his great magazine, wherever the definiteness of their outline was not so rigid as to defy or disarm the action of the intruding and falsifying faculty. Imagination could not alter the date of the battle of Marathon, or the Council of Nice, or the crowning of Pepin. But it might seriously or even fundamentally disturb the balance of light and dark in his account of the opinions of Milton or of Laud, or his estimate of the effects of the Protectorate or the Restoration, or of the character, and even the adulteries, of William III. He could detect justly this want of dry light in others: he probably suspected it in himself: but it was hardly possible for

him to be enough upon his guard against the distracting action of a faculty at once so vigorous, so crafty, and so pleasurable in its intense activity.

Hence arose, it seems reasonable to believe, that charge of partisanship against Macaulay as an historian, on which much has been, and probably much more will be, said. He may not have possessed that scrupulously tender sense of obligation, that nice tact of exact justice, which is among the very rarest, as well as the most precious, of human virtues. But there never was a writer less capable of intentional unfairness. This during his lifetime was the belief of his friends, but was hardly admitted by opponents. His biographer has really lifted the question out of the range of controversy. He wrote for truth; but, of course, for truth such as he saw it; and his sight was coloured from within. This colour, once attached, was what in manufacture is called a mordent; it was a fast colour; he could not distinguish between what his mind had received and what his mind had imparted. Hence when he was wrong, he could not see that he was wrong; and of those calamities which are due to the intellect only, and not the heart, there can hardly be a greater. The hope of amending is, after all, our very best and brightest hope; of amending our works as well as ourselves. Without it, we are forbidden *revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras*, when we have accidentally, as is the way with men, slipped into Avernus. While, as to his authorship, Macaulay was incessantly labouring to improve, in the substance of what he had written he could neither himself detect his errors, nor could he perceive

them when they were pointed out. There was a strange contrast between his own confidence in what he said, and his misgivings about his manner of saying it. Woe to him, he says of his History, if some one should review him as he could review another man. He had, and could not but have, the sense of his own scarifying and tomahawking power, and would, we firmly believe, not have resented its use against himself. "I see every day more and more clearly how far my performance is below excellence" (III. 274), "When I compare my book with what I imagine history ought to be, I feel dejected and ashamed." It was only on comparing it with concrete examples that he felt reassured (III. 275). He never so conclusively proved himself to be a true artist, as in this dissatisfaction with the products of his art because they fell below his ideal; that Will-o'-the-wisp who, like the fabled sprite, ever stirs pursuit, and ever baffles it, but who, unlike that imp, rewards with large, even if unsatisfying, results every step of real progress. But it is quite plain that all this dissatisfaction had reference to the form, not the matter, of his works. Unhappily, he never so much as glances at any general or serious fear lest he should have mistaken the nature or proportions of events, or, what is, perhaps, still more serious, lest he should have done injustice to characters; although he must have well known that injustice from his *χείρ πάχυσια*, his great, massive hand, was a thing so crushing and so terrible. Hence what is at first sight a strange contrast—his insensibility to censure in the forum, his uneasiness in the study; his constant repulsion of the censure of others; his not

less constant misgiving, nay censure on himself. In a debased form this phenomenon is, indeed, common, nay, the commonest of all. But he was no Sir Fretful Plagiary, to press for criticism, and then, in wrath and agony, to damn the critic. The explanation is simple. He criticised what men approved; he approved what they criticised. His style, unless when in some very rare cases it was wrought up to palpable excess, no one attempted to criticise. It was felt to be a thing above the heads of common mortals. But this it was which he watched with an incessant, a passionate, and a jealous care, the care of a fond parent, if not of a lover; of a parent fond, but not doting, who never spared the rod, that he might not spoil the child. Of his matter, his mode of dealing with the substance of men and things, by the constitution of his mind he was blind to the defects. As other men do in yet higher and more inward regions of their being, he missed the view of his own besetting sin.

However true it may be that Macaulay was a far more consummate workman in the manner than in the matter of his works, we do not doubt that the works contain, in multitudes, passages of high emotion and ennobling sentiment, just awards of praise and blame, and solid expositions of principle, social, moral, and constitutional. They are pervaded by a generous love of liberty, and their atmosphere is pure and bracing, their general aim and basis morally sound. Of the qualifications of this eulogy we have spoken, and have yet to speak. But we can speak of the style of the works with little qualification. We do not, indeed, venture to assert that his style ought to be imitated.

Yet this is not because it was vicious, but because it was individual and incommunicable. It was one of those gifts, of which, when it had been conferred, Nature broke the mould. That it is the head of all literary styles we do not allege; but it is different from them all, and perhaps more different from them all than they are usually different from one another. We speak only of natural styles, of styles where the manner waits upon the matter, and not where an artificial structure has been reared either to hide or to make up for poverty of substance. It is paramount in the union of ease in movement with perspicuity of matter, of both with real splendour, and of all with immense rapidity, and striking force. From any other pen, such masses of ornament would be tawdry; with him they are only rich. As a model of art concealing art, the finest cabinet pictures of Holland are almost his only rivals. Like Pascal, he makes the heaviest subject light; like Burke, he embellishes the barrenest. When he walks over arid plains, the springs of milk and honey, as in a march of Bacchus, seem to rise beneath his tread. The repast he serves is always sumptuous, but it seems to create an appetite proportioned to its abundance; for who has ever heard of the reader that was cloyed with Macaulay? In none, perhaps, of our prose writers are lessons, such as he gives, of truth and beauty, of virtue and of freedom, so vividly associated with delight. Could some magician but do for the career of life what he has done for the arm-chair and the study, what a change would pass on the face (at least) of the world we live in, what an accession of recruits would there be to the professing followers of virtue!

As the serious flaw in Macaulay's mind was want of depth, so the central defect with which his productions appear to be chargeable is a pervading strain of exaggeration. He belonged to that class of minds, whose views of single objects are singularly and almost preternaturally luminous. But Nature sows her bounty wide; and those, who possess this precious and fascinating gift as to things in themselves, are very commonly deficient beyond ordinary men in discerning and measuring their relations to one another. For them all things are either absolutely transparent, or else unapproachable from dense and utter darkness. Hence, amidst a blaze of glory, there is a want of perspective, of balance, and of breadth. Themselves knowing nothing of difficulty, or of obscurity, or mental struggle to work out of it, they are liable to be intolerant of those who stumble at the impediments they have overleapt; and even the kindest hearts may be led not merely by the abundance, but by the peculiarities, of their powers, into the most precipitate and partial judgments. From this result Macaulay has not been preserved; and we are convinced that the charges against him would have been multiplied tenfold, had not the exuberant kindness of his heart oftentimes done for him the office of a cautious and self-denying intellect.

Minds of the class to which we refer are like the bodies in the outer world fashioned without gaps or flaws or angles; the whole outline of their formation is continuous, the whole surface is smooth. They are, in this sense, complete men, and they do not readily comprehend those who are incomplete. They do not readily understand either the inferiority, or the supe-

riority, of opponents; the inferiority of their slower sight, or the superiority of their deeper insight; their at once seeing less, and seeing more. In Macaulay's case this defect could not but be enhanced by his living habitually with men of congenial mind, and his comparatively limited acquaintance with that contentious world of practical politics which, like the heaviest wrestling-match for the body, exhibits the unlimited diversities in the attitudes of the human mind, and helps to show how subtle and manifold a thing is the nature that we bear. Parliament could not but have opened out in one direction a new avenue of knowledge for Macaulay; but we do not agree with Mr. Trevelyan in thinking that the comparatively few hours he spent there, most commonly with his thoughts ranging far abroad, could have largely entered into, or perceptibly modified, the habits of his mind.

The very common association between seeing clearly and seeing narrowly is a law or a frailty of our nature not enough understood. Paley was perhaps the most notable instance of it among our writers. Among living politicians, it would be easy to point to very conspicuous instances. This habit of mind is extremely attractive, in that it makes incisive speakers and pellucid writers, who respectively save their hearers and their readers trouble. Its natural tendency is towards hopeless intolerance; it makes all hesitation, all misgiving, all suspense, an infirmity, or a treachery to truth; it generates an appetite for intellectual butchery. There was no man in whom the fault would have been more excusable than in Macaulay; for while with him the clearness was almost preterhuman, the narrowness was, after all, but qualified and relative.

The tendency was almost uniformly controlled by the kindly nature and genuine chivalry of the man; so that even, in some of his scathing criticisms, he seems to have a real delight in such countervailing compliments as he bestows: while in conversation, where he was always copious, sometimes redundant, more overbearing, the mischief was effectually neutralised by the strength and abundance of his social sympathies. Yet he exhibited on some occasions a more than ordinary defect in the mental faculty of appreciating opponents. He did not fully take the measure of those from whom he differed, in the things wherein he differed. There is, for example, a parliamentary tradition sufficiently well established* that Croker assailed, and assailed on the instant, some of Macaulay's celebrated speeches on Reform with signal talent, and with no inconsiderable effect. But he never mentions Croker except with an aversion which may be partially understood, and also with a contempt which it is not so easy to account for. It is common to misunderstand the acts of an adversary, and even to depreciate his motives; but Macaulay cannot even acknowledge the strength of his arm. It is yet more to be lamented that, in this instance, he carried the passions of politics into the Elysian fields of literature; and that the scales in which he tried the merits of Croker's edition of "Boswell"

* In the valuable Biography of Lord Althorp which has just appeared, it is said that Croker attempted a reply to Macaulay, on the second reading of the second Bill, in a speech of two hours and a half, which utterly failed (p. 383). It is not common to make (apparently off-hand) a reply of two hours and a half upon historical details without the possession of rather remarkable faculties. But this volume, though from the opposite camp, bears witness to Croker's powers; it mentions at p. 400 "a most able and argumentative speech of Croker," and other living witnesses, of Liberal opinions, might be cited to a like effect.

seem to have been weighted, on the descending side, with his recollections of parliamentary collision. But the controversy relating to this work is too important to be dismissed with a passing notice; for what touches Boswell touches Johnson, and what touches Johnson touches a large and an immortal chapter of our English tradition. This is the most glaring instance. There are many others. His estimate of Lord Derby is absurdly low. He hardly mentions Peel during his lifetime except with an extreme severity; and even on the sad occasion of his death,* although he speaks kindly of the "poor fellow" (iv. 44), and cries for his death, he does not supply a single touch of appreciation of his great qualities. Yet Sir Robert Peel, if on rare occasions he possibly fell short in considerateness to friends, was eagerly generous to an opponent like Macaulay, during the struggle on Reform (i. 205), and again in 1841 (iii. 161). Peel moreover had for four years before his decease, from his dread of a possible struggle for the revival of protective duties, been the main prop of the Government which had all the sympathies of Macaulay. There is something yet more marked in the case of Brougham, who is said to have shown towards him in early life a jealousy not generous or worthy. In 1858, at a period when Brougham's character was greatly mellowed and softened, and he had discharged almost all his antipathies, Macaulay writes of him, "Strange fellow! His powers gone. His spite immortal. A dead nettle." At this point only, in the wide circuit of Macaulay's recorded words or acts, do we seem to find evidence

* *But* see Speech at Edinburgh in 1852 (Speeches II. 276-7), also Preface to Speeches p. viii.

of a moral defect. Under the semblance of a homage to justice, he seems to have been occasionally seduced into the indulgence of a measure of vindictive feeling.

The combination of great knowledge, great diligence, great powers of appreciation, and great uprightness and kindness of mind with a constant tendency to exaggerate, with unjust and hasty judgments, and with a nearly uniform refusal to accept correction, offers a riddle not unknown on a smaller scale in smaller men, but here of peculiar interest, because, though Macaulay's kind may not have been the greatest, he was, in his kind, so singularly great. The solution of it seems to lie in this: that, with a breathless rapidity, he filled in his picture before his outline was complete, and then with an extreme of confidence he supplied the colour from his own mind and prepossessions, instead of submitting to take them from his theme. Thus each subject that he treated of became, as has been observed, a mirror which reflected the image of himself. The worshipping estimate, which Mr. John Stuart Mill formed of his wife's powers, was unintelligible to those who had known her, until it was remembered that she was simply the echo of his own voice. She repeated to him his own thoughts and his own conclusions; and he took them, when they proceeded from her lips, for the independent oracles of truth. The echo of himself, which Mill found in his wife, was provided for Macaulay in his own literary creations; and what he thought was loyal adhesion to the true and right was only the more and more close embrace of the image he himself had fashioned and adored.

All this, however, is not to be taken for granted. We shall support it by reference to the works of those who we think have supplied the proof, and shall likewise proceed to add some illustrations in detail.

For his own eye, the ornaments of his Essay on Milton were so soon as in 1843 gaudy and ungraceful, while for the world they were only rich dazzling, or at most profuse. As he writes in that year, it contains "scarcely a paragraph such as his matured judgment approves." But there is no misgiving as to the substance of the Essay; and even with regard to his articles on James Mill, which he had dropped on special grounds, he was not "disposed to retract a single doctrine which they contain." If it be thought unfair or misleading to scrutinise closely a production which, while so wonderful, is likewise so youthful as the Essay on Milton, we reply that we examine it for the following reason; because it was the work over which he cast the longest retrospect, and yet this retrospect did not suggest even so much as a qualification, however general, of the opinions it conveyed. We must observe, however, that in the case of Macaulay general qualification would be nearly useless. The least we could have craved of his repentance, had he repented, would have been that the peccant passages should be obelized. For in all his works, the sound and the unsound parts are closely dovetailed; his *series juncturaque*, his arrangement and his transitions, are perfect; the assertions are everywhere alike fearless, the illustrations alike happy; and the vision of the ordinary reader has scarcely a chance of distinguishing between truth and error, where all is bathed

and lost, in one overpowering blaze and flood of light. We might as well attempt to detect, with the naked eye, the spots in the sun.

The Essay combines in one view the works, the opinions, and the character of Milton; and it may perhaps be pronounced at once the most gorgeous and the most highflown panegyric to be found anywhere in print. It describes Milton (Essays, i. 4) as the martyr of English liberty; seemingly for no other reason than that in later life the course of public affairs was not to his mind. Deeply dyed with regicide, he was justly and wisely spared; and he suffered no molestation from those whom, the first day he had got the power, he would not have lost a moment in molesting. Macaulay scoffs at the idea that Charles I. was a martyr to religion; but religion had manifestly something to do with his end, and his title to the name is sounder than Milton's at least in this, that his head was actually cut off.

Milton took (says the great Reviewer, Essays, i. 29) in politics the part to be expected from his high spirit and his great intellect; for he lived "at the very crisis of the conflict between Oromasdes and Arimanes," when the mighty principles of liberty were exhibited in the form of a battle between the principle of good and the principle of evil. Such is Macaulay's trenchant view of the character and merits of the great and mixed conflict known by the name of the Great Rebellion. In what strange contrast does it stand with that of another writer, his contemporary and his friend, not less truly nor less heartily a lover of freedom than himself. Let those who prefer a temperate to a torrid zone, pass from these burning utterances to Mr. Hal-

lam's discussion, in his Eleventh Chapter, of the respective claims and merits of the two parties to the war. In a statement, than which perhaps the whole compass of history does not contain a finer example of searching scrutiny together with judicial temper, he arrives at the conclusion that the war was opened in 1642 "with evil auspices, with much peril of despotism on the one hand, with more of anarchy on the other." *

Referring to the (then) recently published work of Milton on "Christian Doctrine," Macaulay observes "some of the heterodox doctrines which he avows seem to have excited considerable amazement, particularly his Arianism, and his theory on the subject of polygamy." At this amazement he is himself amazed; and with a cursory remark he passes lightly on. As regards his Arianism, we could not reasonably have expected more. That, after all, touches only dogma: and though dogma be the foundation stone of Christianity, still, like other foundation stones, it is out of sight. But the "theory of polygamy" which, as the Essayist observes, Milton did something to illustrate in his life, ought surely to have made him "think thrice" before he proceeded to assure us that Milton's conception of love had not only "all the voluptuousness of the Oriental harem," and not only "all the gallantry of the chivalric tournament," but "all the pure and quiet affection of our English fireside" (Essays, I. 28).

It is especially to be borne in mind that Milton's advocacy of this detestable and degrading institution is not either casual or half-hearted. "So far," he says

* "Constitutional History" (4to.), I. 615.

himself, "is the question respecting the lawfulness of polygamy from being a trivial, that it is of the highest importance it should be decided."* He then discusses it at such length, and with such care, that it may fairly be termed a treatise within a treatise. It is not necessary to cite more than a few short references. "With regard to the passage, they twain" . . . "shall be one flesh" . . . if a man has many wives, the relation which he bears to each will not be less perfect in itself, nor will the husband be less one flesh with each of them, than if he had only one wife.** "He who puts away his wife, and marries another, is not said to commit adultery because he marries another, but because, in consequence of his marriage with another, he does not retain his former wife."*** "If, then, polygamy be marriage properly so called, it is also lawful and honourable, according to the same apostle: marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled."† Nor was his system incomplete. The liberty of plurality, with which it begins, is capped at the other end by an equally large liberty of divorce. The *porneia*, for which (he says) a wife may be put away, includes (according to him) "any notable disobedience or intractable carriage of the wife to the husband," "any point of will worship," "any withdrawing from that nearness of zeal and confidence which ought to be." "So that there will be no cause to vary from the general consent of exposition, which gives us freely that God permitted divorce, for *whatever was unalterably distasteful, whether in body or mind.*" †† We must remember also that when we cen-

* Milton on "Christian Doctrine" (Sumner's translation), p. 232.

** Ibid. . . . *** Ibid. p. 237. . . . † Ibid. p. 241.

†† "Tetrachordon," Works (Ed. 1753), i. 279, 304.

sure the men of that period for their intolerance with respect to religion, witchcraft, and the like, we censure them for what in substance they had inherited from their fathers through many generations, and that from such ties of hampering tradition the extrication must needs be slow. But in this matter of polygamy, Milton deliberately rejected the authority, not only of Scripture, and not only of all Christian, but of all European civilisation, and strove to bring among us, from out of Asiatic sensuality and corruption, a practice which, more directly than any other social custom, strikes at the heart of our religion as a system designed to reform the manners of the world. It seems impossible to deny that this is one of the cases in which the debasement of the opinion largely detracts from the elevation of the man. Yet the idolatry of his Reviewer in summing up his character (*Essays*, I. 54) can only see just what he likes to see; and he finds that, from every source and quarter, "his nature selected and drew to itself whatever was great and good, while it rejected all the base and pernicious ingredients by which those finer elements were defiled"! If ever there was an instance in which close and cautious discrimination is demanded from a critic, it is the case of Milton. For never perhaps so conspicuously as in him were splendid genius, high and varied accomplishment, large appreciation of mankind and life, exquisite refinement, deep affection, and soaring aspiration conjoined, we cannot say united, with a fierceness of opinion and language that belongs to barbarism, with a rejection of the authority of world-wide consent such as only the most irreflective ignorance could palliate, with a violence of prejudice which sometimes

drove him to conclusions worthy only of senility, and with conceptions as to the character and office of Christian women, and the laws and institutions affecting them, which descend below historic heathenism, and approximate even to brutality.

Twelve years after the *Essay on Milton*, another and yet more elaborate effort was applied, we can hardly say dedicated, to the character and philosophy of Bacon. The philosophy was set upon a pinnacle, the character trampled in the mire; while the intellectual faculties of that nearly universal genius were highly appreciated and powerfully set forth. We have in this *Essay*, with an undiminished splendour, also an undiminished tendency to precipitancy and to exaggeration: though they are no longer engaged in the worship of a fond idolatry, but working with energy on the side of censure as well as on that of praise.

Into the controversies relating to the life and character of Bacon we do not propose to enter in detail. Of all the cases in which there has been a call for champions to confront the powerful rush of the assailant, this has been the most adequately met. Whewell records his feelings of "indignation at the popular misrepresentations of Bacon's character, and the levity with which each succeeding writer aggravates them."* We may specify Mr. Paget, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, and in a peculiar fashion Dr. Abbott, as vindicators of Bacon; but the greatest importance attaches to the life-long labours of Ellis, now deceased, and of Spedding, still happily preserved to English literature. As regards the impeachment of Bacon, if taken alone, it

* Whewell's "Writings and Letters," ii. 380.

may establish no more against him than that, amidst the multitude of engrossing calls upon his mind, he did not extricate himself from the meshes of a practice full of danger and of mischief, but in which the dividing lines of absolute right and wrong had not then been sharply marked. Hapless is he on whose head the world discharges the vials of its angry virtue; and such is commonly the case with the last and detected usufructuary of a golden abuse which has outlived its time. In such cases, posterity may safely exercise its royal prerogative of mercy. The wider question is whether, in a list of instances which Macaulay blazoned on his pages, most of all in that of Essex, Bacon did, or did not, exhibit an almost immeasurable weakness, sordidness, and capacity of baseness in his moral character. The question is one of wide interest to the moralist and psychologist, and to England, and even mankind at large. To us the victory seems to lie with the advocates for the defence; the judgments of Macaulay we deem harsh, and his examinations superficial. But we would not tempt the reader to rely upon this opinion, since he has at hand ample and varied material for the formation of his judgment. With regard to the speculative life of Bacon we shall not be quite so abstinent.

Macaulay's account of the Baconian philosophy is as follows. After stating that from the day of his death "his fame has been constantly and steadily progressive," the illustrious Essayist proceeds to say that the philosopher "*aimed* at things altogether different from those which his predecessors had proposed to themselves:" at a new "*finis scientiarum.*" "His end was in his own language 'fruit,' the relief of man's

estate;”* “*commodis humanis inservire;*”** “*dotare vitam humanam novis inventis et copiis.*”*** Two words form its key, “utility, and progress.” Seneca had taught the exact reverse. “The object of the lessons of Philosophy is to form the soul.” “*Non est, inquam, instrumentorum ad usus necessarios opifex.*” The Baconian philosophy strikes away the *non*. “If we are forced to make our choice between the first shoemaker, and the author of the three books on Anger, we pronounce for the shoemaker:” so says the Essayist. From this peculiarity of the Baconian philosophy, “all its other peculiarities directly and almost necessarily sprang.” And Seneca is a type of what was both before and after. Socrates and Plato (but where we would ask is Aristotle?) produced flowers and leaves, not fruits. Accordingly, “we are forced to say with Bacon that this celebrated philosophy ended in nothing but disputation; that it was neither a vineyard nor an olive-ground, but an intricate wood of briars and thistles, from which those, who lost themselves in it, brought back many scratches and no fruit” (Essays, III. 96). The powers of these men were “systematically misdirected.” The ancient philosophy was a treadmill, not a path. He then enumerates, among the subjects which that philosophy handled, the following heads: “what is the highest good; whether pain be an evil; whether all things be fated; whether we can be certain of anything; whether a wise man can be unhappy.” These questions he next compares to the Bigendian and Littlendian controversies

* “*Adv. of Learning,*” book 1.

** *De Augm.* VII. 1.

*** *Nov. Org.* I. aph. 81. (Also cites *De Augm. Essays*, III. 92 *seqq.*; II. 2, and *Cogitata et visa.*)

The Hellenic Factor etc.

in Gulliver, and he gravely pronounces that such disputes "could add nothing to the stock of knowledge," that they accumulated nothing, and transmitted nothing. "There had been plenty of ploughing, harrowing, reaping, and threshing. But the garners contained only smut and stubblè" (Essays, III. 98).

At this point we must in fairness allow the reader to pause and ask himself two questions: first, whether in what he has read he is to believe the witness of his own eyes, and secondly, after due rubbing and ruminating, whether Bacon is really responsible for these astounding doctrines? Unfortunately Macaulay has a contempt for Saint Augustine, and therefore we may make an appeal that would in his view be vain, if we observe that that great intellect and heart has left upon record in his works an acknowledgment in terms superlative, if not extravagant, of the value as well as the vast power of the works of Plato; the "godly Plato," as Alexander Barclay calls him. Something more we may hope to effect, since Macaulay not only admired but almost worshipped Dante, if we plead that the intellect of that extraordinary man was trained under Aristotelian influences, and imbued, nay saturated, with Aristotelian doctrines. But if we plead for the persons, much more must we contend for the subjects. Can it really be that, in this nineteenth century, the writer who, as Mr. Trevelyan truly says, teaches men by millions, has gravely taught them that the study of the nature of good, of the end for which we live, of the discipline of pain, of the mastery to be gained over it by wisdom, of the character and limits of human knowledge, is a systematic misdirection of the mind, a course of effort doomed before-

hand to eternal barrenness, a sowing of seed that is to produce only smut and stubble?

From this strange bewilderment, and this ganglion of errors, even his own Milton might have saved him, who says of his lost angels, "on a hill retired"—

"Of good and evil much they argued them,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion and apathy, and glory and shame."

And then, as if from between narrowing defiles of Puritanism which left him but a strip of sky and light, condemns their high themes and thoughts—

"Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy;"

but yet he cannot help emerging a little; and he adds—

"Yet with a pleasing sorcery *could charm*
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm the obdured breast
With stubborn patience, as with triple steel,"*

Having disposed of the Greek and Roman philosophers, the Essayist finds, as might be expected, still less difficulty in "settling the hash" of the schoolmen, to whom the more cautious intellects of Mackintosh and Milman have done another kind of justice; and at length we have the summary, Essays, III. 101:—"Words, and more words, and nothing but words, had been all the fruit of all the toil of all the most renowned sages of sixty generations." But the new epoch had arrived, and the new system.

"Its object was the good of mankind, in the sense in which the mass of mankind always have understood, and always will understand, the word 'good.' 'Meditor,' said Bacon, '*instaurationem philosophiæ ejusmodi quæ nihil inanis aut abstracti habeat, quæque vitæ humanæ conditiones in melius provehat.*'**

* "Paradise Lost," II. 512.

** "Redargutio Philosophiarum."

“To make men perfect was no part of Bacon’s plan. His humble aim was to make imperfect men comfortable.”

As if Bacon had been an upholsterer, or the shoemaker whom Macaulay says, if driven to choose, he would prefer to the philosopher. So, if driven to choose for food between the moon and the green cheese of which in the popular saying it is supposed to be made, we should unquestionably choose the green cheese. But we could never be so driven: because the objects of choice supposed to compete are not *in pari materia*. Nor are the shoemaker and the philosopher: there is no reason why we should not have both—the practitioner in useful arts, and the man meditative of the high subjects of human thought; mind, destiny, and conduct. The imagined opposition is a pure figment; a case of “words, and more words, and nothing but words,” if not, indeed, of “smut and stubble.”

The truth is that Macaulay was not only accustomed, like many more of us, to go out hobby-riding, but, from the portentous vigour of the animal he mounted, was liable, more than most of us, to be run away with. His merit is, that he could keep his seat in such a steeple-chase: but as the object in view is arbitrarily chosen, so it is reached by cutting up the fields, spoiling the crops, and spoiling or breaking down the fences, needful to secure to labour its profit, and to man at large the full enjoyment of the fruits of the earth. Such is the over-powering glow of colour, such the fascination of the grouping in the first sketches which he draws, that, when hot upon his work, he seems to lose all sense of the restraints of fact and the laws of moderation: he vents the strangest paradoxes, sets up the most violent caricatures, and

handles the false weight and measure as effectively as if he did it knowingly. A man so able and so upright is never indeed wholly wrong. He never for a moment consciously pursues anything but truth. But truth depends, above all, on proportion and relation. The preter-human vividness with which Macaulay sees his object, absolutely casts a shadow upon what lies around; he loses his perspective; and imagination, impelled headlong by the strong consciousness of honesty in purpose, achieves the work of fraud. All things for him stand in violent contrast to one another. For the shadows, the gradations, the middle and transition touches, which make up the bulk of human life, character, and action, he has neither eye nor taste. They are not taken account of in his practice, and they at length die away from the ranges of his vision.

We presume it cannot be doubted that Bacon found philosophy had flown too high; had been too neglectful both of humble methods, and of what are commonly termed useful aims. What he deemed of himself is one thing: what we are now to deem of him is another. And we believe the true opinion to be that Bacon introduced into philosophy no revolutionary principle or power, either as to aims or as to means; but that he helped to bring about important modifications of degree. To the bow, bent too far in one direction, he gave a strong wrench in the other. He did much to discourage the arbitrary and excessive use of *à priori* and deductive methods, and, though he is thought himself to have effected nothing in physical science, largely contributed to open the road which others have trodden with such excellent effect.

But the ideas imperfectly expressed in these sentences were far too homely to carry the blaze of colour and of gilding, which Macaulay was required by the constitution of his mind to lay on any objects he was to handle with effect. Hence the really outrageous exaggerations (for in this case we cannot call them less), of which we have given the sum. But, after writing in that strain for twenty-five or thirty pages, at length his Hippogriff alights on *terra firma*; and he tells us with perfect *naïveté* (Essays, III. 120) that Bacon's philosophy was no less a moral than a natural philosophy, and that, though his illustrations are drawn from physical science, his principles "are just as applicable to ethical and political inquiries as to inquiries into the nature of heat and vegetation." Very good: but, then, why the long series of spurious, as well as needless, contrasts between the useful and the true, between the world of mind and the world of matter, between the good on which philosophers have speculated and the good which the masses of mankind always have sought, and always will; and why, in order that Lord Macaulay may write a given number of telling sentences and fascinating pages, is Bacon to be made responsible for a series of extravagances which with his mind, not less rational than powerful, not less balanced than broad, we are persuaded that he would have abhorred?

We shall not attempt any more precise appreciation of the philosophy of this extraordinary man. Of all English writers, until Germany cast the eye of patient study upon Shakespeare, he has enjoyed, perhaps, the largest share of European attention, as in his speculations he touched physics with one hand,

and the unseen world with the other. There has, however, been much doubt, and much difference of opinion, as to the exact place which is due to him in the history of science and philosophy. So far as we can gather, a sober estimate prevails. De Maistre has, indeed, in a work on the subject of Bacon and his philosophy, degraded him to the rank of something very near a charlatan: and, with reference to his character as a fore-runner and torch-bearer on the paths of science, asserts that Newton was not even acquainted with his works. We do not suppose that any mere invectives of so inveterate a partisan will sensibly affect the judgment of the world. But writers of a very different stamp have not been wanting to point out that Bacon's own writings partake of prejudice and passion. Mr. Stanley Jevons, for example, in his able work on "The Principles of Science,"* animadverted on his undue disparagement of philosophic anticipation. Upon the whole, we fear that the coruscations of Lord Macaulay have done but little to assist an impartial inquirer, or to fix the true place of this great man in the historical evolution of modern philosophy.

Those who may at all concur in our comments on Macaulay's besetting dangers, will observe without surprise that, while his excesses in panegyric gave rise to little criticism, the number and vehemence of his assaults drew upon him a host of adversaries. He received their thrusts upon his target as coolly, as if they had been Falstaff's men in buckram. We do not regret that he should have enjoyed the comforts of equanimity. But there is something absolutely mar-

* London: Macmillan, 1874.

vellous in his incapacity to acknowledge force either in the reasonings of opponents, or in those arrays of fact, under which, like battering-rams, so many of his towering structures of allegation were laid level with the ground.

“It surely was his profit, had he known :
It would have been his pleasure, had he seen.”*

The corrections made in his works were lamentably rare; the acknowledgments were rarer and feebler still. Nor was this from any want of kindness of heart, as these volumes would of themselves suffice to demonstrate, or from any taint in his love of truth. It was due, we seriously hold, to something like what the theologians call invincible ignorance. The splendid visions which his fancy shaped had taken possession of his mind; they abode there each of them entire in their majesty or beauty; they could only have been dislodged by some opposing spell as potent as his own; they were proof against corrections necessarily given piecemeal, and prepossession prevented him from perceiving the aggregate effect, even when it was most conclusive.

It would be all well, or at least well in comparison, had we only to contemplate this as a case of psychological curiosity. But the mischief is that wrong has been done, and it remains unredressed. In ordinary cases of literary quarrel, assailants and defenders have something not hopelessly removed from equal chances; although as a rule the greater pungency, and less complexity, of attack makes it decidedly more popular and effective than defence, when the merits do not greatly differ. But in this case the inequality was

* Tennyson's "Guinevere."

gross, was measureless. For every single ear that was reached by the reply, the indictment, such was Macaulay's monarchy over the world of readers, had sounded in scores or hundreds, or even thousands. The sling and the stone in the hands of half-a-score of Davids, however doughty, found no way of approach to the forehead of this Goliath, and scarcely whizzed past him in the air.

And yet, among the opposers whom he roused, there were men who spoke with care, information, or authority: some of them had experience, some had a relative popularity, some had great weight of metal. We have already referred to the champions in the case of Bacon. In relation to Mr. Croker's "Boswell," no less a person than Lockhart—*nomen intra has ædes semper venerandum**—confuted and even retorted, in "Blackwood's Magazine," a number of the charges of inaccuracy, and reduced others to insignificance. So far as this instance was concerned, the fame of Boswell's work supplied a criterion which appears decisive of the controversy; for Mr. Croker's edition has been repeatedly republished, and has become classical, although the mere amount of material, extraneous to the text, which it carries, cannot but be deemed a disadvantage. Warren Hastings had not a son; but the heavy charges against Sir Elijah Impey, especially in connection with the condemnation and execution of Nuncomar, brought the son of that Judge into the field. Mr. Impey's "Memoirs" ** of his father appear sufficiently to repel these accusations; but the defence

* See the inscription under the bust of Wolsey in the Quadrangle of Christ Church.

** "Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey." Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1846, pp. ix. *seqq.*; chapters III. IV. IX. XIII. and elsewhere.

is lost in the mazes of a ponderous volume, known perhaps to no more than a few scores of readers, and that imperfectly, while the original accusation circulates, with the other Essays, in a Student's Edition, 1 vol.; a People's Edition, 2 vols.; a Cabinet Edition, 4 vols.; a Library Edition, 3 vols.; a Cheap Edition, 1 vol.; and as a separate Essay, at 1s.* Who shall rectify or mitigate these fearful odds? With greater power and far greater skill, and with more effect, Mr. Hayward, in this Review and elsewhere, cast his shield over Madame Piozzi. Yet the number of persons who have read, without the means of guarding against error, some of the harshest and most gratuitous imputations ever scattered broadcast in the thoughtless wantonness of literary power, must be immensely larger than those who have had the means of estimating the able, and, we apprehend, irrefragable defence.** A remarkable article in "Fraser's Magazine" for June, bearing the initials of a distinguished historian, widens the front of the attack, and severely questions the accuracy of Macaulay's representations in a portion of our annals, where they had hitherto been little sifted.

It was, however, the appearance of the History, in 1848 and 1855, which roused into activity a host of adverse witnesses. Of these we will give a cursory account. Bishop Phillpotts, perhaps the most effective pamphlet-writer of his day, entered into a correspondence with Macaulay, which was afterwards published, chiefly on his grave inaccuracies in relation to Church History. The Bishop, a biting controversialist, had,

* From the advertising sheet at the close of the Biography (London Edition).

** "Quarterly Review," April, 1868, p. 316. Hayward's "Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi." 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1861.

we say advisedly, none of the servility which is sometimes imputed to him; but he was an eminently, perhaps a redundantly, courteous gentleman. We have sincere pleasure in citing a portion of his introductory eulogium, which we feel confident was written with entire sincerity. After some other compliments of a more obvious kind, the Bishop proceeds:

“But your highest merit is your unequalled truthfulness. Biassed as you must be by your political creed, your party, and connections, it is quite clear that you will never sacrifice the smallest particle of truth to those considerations.”*

This correspondence ended as amicably as it began. The Bishop obtained a courteous admission “of the propriety of making some alterations.”** But they were to be “slight.” On the main points the historian’s opinion was “unchanged.” We will notice but one of them. It has to do with the famous Commissions taken out by certain Bishops of the sixteenth century, among whom Bonner, under Henry VIII., was one. Macaulay had stated that these documents recognised the Crown as the fountain of all Episcopal authority without distinction. The Bishop pointed out that the authority conveyed by the Commissions was expressly stated to be over and above, *præter et ultra ea, quæ tibi, in Sacris Libris, divinitus commissa esse dignoscuntur*. In gallant defiance alike of the grammar and the sense, as will be seen on reference, Macaulay calmly adheres to his opinion.*** It is hardly too much to say that with so prepossessed a mind, when once committed, argument is powerless and useless.

* “Correspondence between the Bishop of Exeter and the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay.” London, Murray, 1861, p. 3.

** P. 44.

*** P. 13.

One able writer, Mr. Paget, in his "New Examen," took up and dealt with most of the passages of the History which had been impugned; nor can we do better than refer the readers to his pages for the defence, against very sweeping and truculent accusations, of Dundee, Marlborough, and William Penn. All these cases are of great interest. In all, the business of defence has been ably, and in most points conclusively performed. But the rejoinder to the defence is truly formidable. It consists in this, that the charge, without the reply, has been sold probably to the extent of half a million copies, and has been translated (iv. 176) into twelve languages. It would not be possible, without adding too greatly to the number of these pages, to give an outline of the argument on the respective cases. But there is an incident connected with the case of Penn, which we cannot omit to notice. The peaceful Society, to which he belonged, does not wholly abjure the practice of self-defence on grave occasions; nor could there be a graver, than when one of the most revered names in its annals had been loaded by so commanding an authority with a mass of obloquy:

"Lord Macaulay seeks to show that this same William Penn prostituted himself to the meanest wishes of a cruel and profligate court; gloated with delight on the horrors of the scaffold and the stake, was the willing tool of a blood-thirsty and treacherous tyrant, a trafficker in simony and suborner of perjury, a conspirator, seeking to deluge his country in blood, a sycophant, a traitor, and a liar."

From original sources, Mr. Paget has answered the

* "The New Examen" (reprinted in "Paradoxes and Puzzles." Blackwood 1874).

** Paget, "New Examen," sect. v. ("Paradoxes and Puzzles," p. 134).

charges which he had thus emphatically summed up. Mr. Forster, who has since risen to such high distinction in the House of Commons, performed the same duty in a preface to the "Life of Clarkson," afterwards separately republished.* There remains impressed on the mind of that community a sentiment which, even if it be somewhat mellowed by the lapse of nearly thirty years, can still be recognised as one of indignation against what is felt or thought to be literary outrage. That Macaulay should have adhered to his charges with unabated confidence can, after what we have already seen, excite little surprise. But there still remains room for a new access of wonder when we find that he not only remained himself unconverted, but even believed he had converted the Quakers.

"February 5, 1849. Lord Shelburne, Charles Austin, and Milman to breakfast. A pleasant meal. Then the Quakers, five in number. Never was there such a rout. They had absolutely nothing to say. Every charge against Penn came out as clear as any case at the Old Bailey. They had nothing to urge but what was true enough, that he looked worse in my History than he would have looked on a general survey of his whole life. But that is not my fault. . . . The Quakers were extremely civil. So was I. They complimented me on my courtesy and candour."—IV. 12.

And all this when they had left him boiling, or at least simmering, in unanimity of wrath, and silent only because hopeless of redress, and borne down by a torrent that nothing could resist.

We shall trespass on the readers with a rather more detailed examination of a single remaining point, because it has not been touched by any of the vindicators whom we have already named. It is of con-

* London, C. Gilpin, 1849.

siderable historic interest and importance; and it illustrates, perhaps more forcibly than any foregoing instance, that particular phenomenon which we believe to be for its magnitude unparalleled in literature, namely, the absence of remedy when a wrong has been done; the utter and measureless disparity between the crushing force of this onslaught, together with its certain and immediate celebrity throughout the whole reading world, and the feeble efforts at resistance which have had nothing adventitious to recommend them. For the style of Macaulay, though a fine and a great, is without doubt a pampering style, and it leaves upon the palate a disrelish for the homely diet of mere truth and sense.

We refer to the celebrated description, which Macaulay has given, of the Anglican clergy of the Restoration period. Few portions of his brilliant work have achieved a more successful notoriety. It may perhaps be said to have been stereotyped in the common English mind. It is in its general result highly disparaging. And yet that generation of clergy was, as we conceive, the most powerful and famous in the annals of the English Church since the Reformation. If we do not include yet earlier times, it is from want of record, rather than from fear of comparison. Perhaps, at the very most, one reader in a thousand could for and by himself correct, qualify or confute, Macaulay's glittering and most exaggerative description. The other nine hundred and ninety-nine lay wholly at his mercy. We were ourselves at the outset, and we have continued to be among the sturdiest disbelievers. But it will best serve the general purpose of this article if, instead of stating the de-

tailed grounds of our own rebellion, we follow a guide, whom we shall afterwards introduce to our readers.

Though it may seem presumptuous, we will boldly challenge the general statement of Macaulay that the reign of Charles II., when the influence of the Church was at its height, was the most immoral in our history. There has been a fashion of indulging in this kind of cant, and that mainly among those who exaggerate the strictness of the Puritan ascendancy which immediately preceded it; as if it were possible for a people, much less for a solid and stable people like the English, thus violently to alter its morality in the space of a few years. It is hard for an individual to descend instantaneously into the lower depths: *nemo repente fuit turpissimus*; but for a nation it is impossible. Macaulay has, we are convinced, mistaken the Court, the theatre, and the circles connected with them, which may be called metropolitan, for the country at large. In these, indeed, the number of the dissolute was great, and the prevailing tone was vile. We, who have seen and known what good the example of Victoria and Albert amidst their Court did during twenty years for the higher society of our own generation, may well comprehend the force of the converse operation, and rate highly the destructive contagion spread by Charles II. and his associates. But even for the Court of Charles II., we appeal from Lord Macaulay to the most recent and able historian of Nonconformity, Dr. Stoughton. From his pages we may perceive that even within that precinct were to be found lives and practices of sanctity, no less remarkable than the

pollutions with which they were girt about.* We have introduced these preliminary sentences because even now there is, and much more at that time there was, no small degree of connection between the morality of the country, and the piety, honour, and efficiency of the clergy. Among the corrupt retainers of the Court and theatre, there can be little doubt that they were in contempt. From such a stage as then existed, it would have been too much to ask respect for Jeremy Collier and his order.

We shall take in succession the leading propositions of Macaulay. The Reformation, he says, fundamentally altered the place of the clergyman in society. Six or seven sons of peers at the close of Charles II.'s reign held episcopal or other valuable preferment; but "the clergy were regarded as on the whole a plebeian class; and, indeed, *for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants.*" (History, I. 321 *seqq.*)

No doubt the prizes of the Church, as they are called, were fewer and poorer, than they had been before the time of Henry VIII. But more than twice the number of members of noble families stated by Macaulay have been enumerated. This, however, is a secondary error. It is more to the purpose that Eachard, a favourite authority of Macaulay, complains that the gentry as a class made a practice of sending their indifferent and ill-provided children into the ministry. While Archdeacon Oley, who published a preface to Herbert's "Country Parson" in 1675, writes

* Stoughton's "Ecclesiastical History." London, 1867-70. See also the very remarkable "Life of Mrs. Godolphin" *passim*. London, 1847.

as follows: "Though the vulgar ordinarily do not, yet the nobility and gentry do, distinguish and abstract the errors of the man from the holy calling, and not think their dear relations degraded by receiving holy orders."

Wood says in the "Life of Compton," that holy orders were the readiest way of preferment for the younger sons of noblemen.* And Jeremy Collier is yet more to the point. "As for the gentry, there are not many good families in England, but either have or have had a clergyman in them. In short, the priesthood is the profession of a gentleman."

Here is a flat contradiction to Macaulay, from a man whom he himself declares to be "of high note in ecclesiastical history;" and it is taken from the work on the stage, declared by him to be "a book which threw the whole literary world into commotion, but which is now much less read than it deserves." (Es-says, vol. iv. 186-7.)**

Again, if the clergy were a plebeian class, and nine-tenths of them were menial servants, we must take it for granted that their education was low in proportion. Yet Eachard, on whom Macaulay loves to rely, in his work on the Contempt of the clergy, cites as one of the causes of the mischief, that in the Grammar Schools, where they were educated, they were until sixteen or seventeen kept in pure slavery to a few Latin and Greek words;*** the very complaint most rife against Eton and the other public schools during the last fifty years. To make good his view of the ignorance prevailing among the clergy

* "Ath. Ox." II. 968 (fol. ed.)

** "Babington," pp. 18-21.

*** "Contempt," &c. p. 4.

Macaulay falls foul of the Universities. But his favourite, Burnet, writes, "learning was then high at Oxford" ("Own Time," i. p. 321), and Barrow, a still higher authority, thus addresses an academic audience at Cambridge ("Opusc." iv., 123, 124):

"Græcos auctores omne genus, poetas, philosophos, historicos, scholiastas, quos non ita pridem tanquam barbaros majorum inscitia verita est attingere, jam matris nostræ etiam juniores filii intrepidè pervolvunt, ipsorum lectionem in levis negotii censu reputantes: nec minus promptè Lyceum, aut Academiam adeunt, quam si, remeantibus seculis, cum Platone et Aristotele in mediis Athenis versarentur."

Not a whit better* stand the statements of the historian concerning the marriages of the clergy. "The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service; and it was well"—such is the easy audacity of his licence—"if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favour." Girls of honourable family were enjoined to eschew lovers in orders. Clarendon marks it as a sign of disorder that some "damsels of noble families had bestowed themselves on divines." (History, i. 323.)

For the extraordinary libel on the purity of the contemporary brides of clergymen, there does not appear to be either the foundation, or even the pretext, of authority. An injunction of Queen Elizabeth in 1559 is cited to prove the vulgarity of clerical marriages one hundred and twenty years afterwards: not to mention that even that Injunction appears to be seriously misunderstood. Clarendon's passage refers to "the several sects in religion," and nothing can be more improbable than that, with his views of

* "Babington," sect. iv. pp. 37-52.

Church polity, he could by these words intend to designate the Church of England. The divines whom he goes on to mention (early in Charles's reign), are "the divines of the time," and it seems more than probable that he intends by the phrase the Nonconforming Ministers, not the young men recently ordained, and of the ordinary age for marriage. Besides, even at the present day, a certain inequality would be recognised in the nuptials of women of rank with clergymen of average station and condition. In citing the testimony of plays of the time, Macaulay forgets the preface to one of those he quotes. "For reflecting upon the Church of England . . . no learned or wise divine of the Church will believe me guilty of it. . . . A foolish lord, or knight, is daily represented: *nor are there any so silly to believe it an abuse to their order.*" (Preface to Shadwell's "Lancashire Witches.") It may be truly said that instances of good or high marriages, which can easily be supplied, do not prove the case affirmatively. But Pepys speaks of the extreme satisfaction with which he would give his sister to his friend Cumberland, a priest.* Nelson speaks of Bull's marrying a clergyman's daughter with praise, because he preferred piety and virtue to the advantages "which for the most part influence the minds of men upon such occasions."** Herbert warns the clergy against marrying "for beauty, riches, or honour."*** Beveridge speaks of the same temptation in his own case. Collier† notes as a strange order the Injunction of 1559 (already mentioned), that a clergyman should gain the consent of the master or mistress

* "Diary," III. 170.

** "Country Parson," chap. IX.

** "Life of Bull," p. 44.

† "On Pride," p. 40.

where a damsel served. Every one of these testimonies loses its force and meaning, if Macaulay is otherwise than grossly wrong in his allegation that the clergy were mostly in the state of menial servants, and made corresponding marriages.

Our readers may be already wearied with this series of exposures, and it cannot be necessary to dwell at any length on the incomes of the clergy. It is extremely difficult to compute them in figures; and Macaulay judiciously avoids it. Yet even here he cannot escape from the old taint of exaggeration. "Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably." Ordinarily, therefore, he followed manual employments. On "white days" he fed in the kitchens of the great. "Study was impossible." "His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry." (History, I. 324.) Now, on the point of manual labour, George Herbert, in the preface to the "Country Parson," expressly says the clergy are censured "because they do not make tents, as Saint Paul did, nor hold the plough, thrash, or drive trades, as themselves do" (i.e. laymen). Walker, in the "Sufferings of the Clergy," speaks of it as a special hardship when they are driven to such occupations. Eachard speaks of the extreme poverty of such as had but 20*l.* or 30*l.* per annum, and certifies that there are hundreds of such.* Now, multiplying by four for the then greater power of money, these extreme cases correspond with 80*l.* and 120*l.* at the present day: and there are not only hundreds, but thousands, of our clergy, whose professional incomes do not rise above the higher of

* "Contempt," &c. pp. 112-4. "Babington," sect. v. pp. 59, 64.

the figures. A yet more telling piece of evidence may be had from Walker, who calls a living of 40*l.* or 45*l.* a year small. Such a living corresponds with 160*l.* or 180*l.* at the present time. This is still about the income of a "small living"; and the evidence under this, as well as the other heads, goes to show, in contradiction to Macaulay, that while the absolute clergyman was without doubt much less refined, his social position relatively to the other members of society was in ordinary cases nearly the same as now. Of the aggregate national income, there can, we think, be no doubt that the clerical order had not a smaller but a larger share.

With respect to the children of the clergy, as a general rule, Macaulay's statement (which he does not support by any authority), that the boys followed the plough and the girls went out to service, is no more and no less than a pure fable. It is also unpardonable, because the contemporary or nearly contemporary authorities, who confute it, are not obscure men, but men whose works any writer on the history of the period must or ought to have known; such as George Herbert, in the "Country Parson," Fuller in his "Worthies of England," Beveridge in his "Private Thoughts," Dr. Sprat, afterwards a Bishop, preaching upon the Sons of the Clergy in 1678, and White Kennet in his "Collectanea Curiosa." Only want of space prevents our crowding these pages with citations; and we content ourselves with two passages, each of a few words. The first is from White Kennet, who declares that "many of the *poorer clergy* indulge the inclination of their sons by breeding them to a good competence of school learning," though

they are afterwards unable, just as is now the case, "to support them at the University, and are in such cases driven to divert them to mean and unsuitable employments."* The second is from Fuller,** who heads one of his sections thus: "That the children of clergymen have been as successful as the sons of men of other professions." Without doubt the difficulties, which press so hardly now upon the clerical order along its lower fringe, pressed in like manner on it then. But Macaulay's description is of the order, not of the lower fringe of it. What would he have said if he had discovered that there was under Charles II., as there has been under the sovereigns of the nineteenth century, a "Poor Pious Clergy Society," which expressly invited, on behalf of the impoverished priesthood, gifts of cast-off clothing?

We then pass on to the libraries of the clergy: "He might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dog-eared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves" (History, i. 325). If the volumes were dog-eared, it was by being much read. If they were but ten or twelve, there was much to be got out of ten or twelve of the close and solid tomes which then were more customary than now. But then it was only the lucky man who had ten or twelve. Now, let the reader mark how this stands. His favourite Eachard*** describes the case of men having six or seven works, which he enumerates, together with a bundle of sermons for their library. For this account he was taken to task by his op-

* "Coll. Cur." ii. 304.

*** "Contempt," &c. pp. 106, 7.

** "Worthies," i. 78.

ponent in the "Vindication." Whereupon, Eachard himself thus replies: "The case is this: whether there may not be here and there a clergyman so ignorant, as that it might be wished that he were wiser. For my own part, I went, and guessed at random, and *thought there might be one or so.*" *

And this *minimum* is transformed by Macaulay's magic wand into a *maximum*, this uncertain exception into the positive and prevailing rule. And here, again, while the solitary prop crumbles into dust, the counter-evidence is abundant. Walker recites the "rabbling" and plunder of clerical libraries of the value of 500*l.* and 600*l.* Saint David's was one of the poorest dioceses of the country; but Nelson** tells us that Bishop Bull considered the reading of the Fathers, "at least of those of the first three centuries," "not only as useful but absolutely necessary to support the character of a priest." Burnet's demands on the clergy in the "Pastoral Care,"*** seem to be quite as large as a bishop could now venture to put forward; and many other writers may be cited to a similar effect. † The general rule, that no clergyman should be ordained without an university degree, †† was in force then as now; and probably then more than now. The Grand Duke Cosmo III. states in his "Travels," when he visited the two Universities, that Cambridge had more than two thousand five hundred students, and Oxford over three thousand; and it is safely to be assumed that a larger proportion of these

* "Letter to the Author of the Vindication," p. 234.

** "Life of Bull," p. 428.

*** Chap. vii.

† "Babington," sect. vii. pp. 87-9.

†† Cardwell's "Documentary Annals," II. 304. 5.

large numbers, than now, were persons intending to take holy orders.

That we may in winding up the case come to yet closer quarters, let it be observed that Macaulay admits and alleges* that there was assuredly no lack of clergymen "distinguished by abilities and learning." But "these eminent men were to be found, with scarcely a single exception, at the universities, at the great cathedrals, or in the capital."

A passage perfectly consistent with all that has preceded; as, indeed, Lord Macaulay is perhaps more notable than any writer of equal bulk for being consistent with himself. For the places thus enumerated could hardly have included more than a tenth of the clergy. Of the mass the historian has yet one disparaging remark to make: that "almost the only important theological works which came forth from a rural parsonage" were those of Bull; and those only because, inheriting an estate, he was able to purchase a library, "such as probably no other country clergyman in England possessed."** This assertion, not less unhappy than those which have preceded, is reduced to atoms by the production of a list of men, who sent forth from country parsonages works of divinity that were then, and in most cases that are now, after two hundred years, esteemed. Many of them, indeed, have been recently republished. The list includes the names, with others, of Towerson, Puller, Sherlock, Norris, Fulwood, Fuller (who died in 1661), Kettlewell, and Beveridge.

From this compressed examination, which would gain by a greater expansion, it may sufficiently ap-

* History, 1. 325.

** Ibid. 1. 326.

pear that Lord Macaulay's charges of a menial condition and its accompaniments against the clergy of the Restoration period generally and miserably break down. In no instance are they tolerably supported by positive evidence; in many they are absolutely confuted and annihilated. Not, indeed, that he was absolutely and wholly wrong in any point, but that he was wrong in every point by omission and by exaggeration. Because books were then, especially in the country, more difficult to obtain than now; because manners were more rude and homely in all classes of the community; because cases of low birth and conduct, still individually to be found, were perhaps somewhat more frequent; because a smaller number of the well-born might have taken orders during the period of the Protectorate, so that the Episcopal Bench was for a short time filled with men of humble origin, though of great learning and ability; these incidents must be magnified into the portentous statement, that "for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants." Isolated facts and partial aspects of his case he eyes with keenness; to these he gives a portentous development; and a magnified and distorted part he presents to us as the whole. The equilibrium of truth is gone; and without its equilibrium it is truth no longer.

That which may be alleged of the clergy of that period is, that they were unmitigated Tories. This is in reality the link which binds together the counts of the indictment; as a common hostility to William of Orange, or sympathy with James the Second, brings into one and the same category of invective and condemnation persons appearing at first sight to have so

little in common as Marlborough, Claverhouse, and Penn. The picture of the Restoration clergy is a romance in the form and colour of a history. But while history in the form of romance is commonly used to glorify a little our poor humanity, the illusions of this romance in the form of history go only to discolour and degrade. That William, that Burnet, that Milton should have personal embellishment much beyond their due, is no intolerable evil. But the case becomes far more grievous when a great historian, impelled by his headstrong and headlong imagination, traduces alike individuals and orders, and hurls them into a hot and flaming inferno of his own.

We have selected this case for an exposition comparatively full, not on the ground that it is the most important, but because, better than any other, it illustrates and exemplifies the uncommon, the astounding, inequality of the attack and the defence. The researches which we have partially compressed into the last few pages are those of Mr. Churchill Babington, a Fellow of Saint John's, the neighbour college to Macaulay's justly-loved and honoured Trinity. We do not assume them to be infallible. But every candid man must admit that the matter of them is formidable and weighty; that, in order to sustain the credit of Macaulay as an historian, it demands examination and reply. It is in vain that in his "Journal"* he disclaims the censorship of men "who have not soaked their mind with the transitory literature of the day." For in the first place this transitory literature, the ballad, the satire, the jest-book, the farce or vulgar comedy, requires immense sifting and

* Trevelyan's "Life," III. 265.

purgation, like other coarse raw material, in order to reduce the gross to the nett, to seclude and express the metal from the ore. In the second place, Mr. Babington seems thus far to have made it very doubtful whether Macaulay has made out his case even as tested by that transitory literature. Give, however, transitory literature what you will, it can form no apology for the gross neglect of grave and weighty and unimpeachable authorities.

But if Macaulay's invocation of the transitory literature of the day is insufficient, what shall we say of Mr. Trevelyan's appeal to Buckle? Buckle, forsooth, bears witness that Macaulay "has rather understated the case than overstated it." Macaulay, even when least ἀγρίωνος, can stand better on the feet that Nature gave him, than on a crutch like this. Quote if you choose publicans on liquor laws, or slave-drivers on the capacities of blacks; cite Martial as a witness to purity, or Bacchus to sobriety; put Danton to conduct a bloodless revolution, or swear in the Gracchi as special constables; but do not sét up Mr. Buckle as an arbiter of judicial measure or precision, nor let the fame of anything that is called a religion or a clergy depend upon his nod.

Mr. Babington's work can only receive due appreciation upon being consulted *in extenso*. It attracted little notice on its appearance, except from periodicals connected with the clerical profession. He had from Sir Francis Palgrave the consolatory assurance that he had supplied a confutation as complete as the nature of the attainable evidence in such a case would allow. But his work was noticed* by the "Edinburgh

* Not by Macaulay's fault. "I have told Napier that I ask it, as a per-

Review" in language which we can only describe as that of contemptuous ignorance. It is a book by "a Mr. Churchill Babington" (he was a Fellow of Saint John's and Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge), which was "apparently intended to confute, but in reality very much confirms, our author's views." Such was the summary jurisdiction exercised upon the material of which we have presented a sample.* The measure of notice accorded to it by Macaulay was simply the insertion of an additional reference (*History*, I. 331) to the life of Dr. Bray, "to show the extreme difficulty which the country clergy found in procuring books." The text remains unaltered. The work of Mr. Babington, of which only a very few hundred copies were sold or distributed, was for its main purpose still-born, is now hardly known in the world of letters, is not found in some of our largest and most useful libraries,** and if it now and then appears in an old book-shop, confesses by the modesty of its price, that it is among the merest waifs and strays of literature. Such is the fate of the criticism; but the perversion—the grave and gross caricature with which it grappled—still sparkles in its diamond setting, circulates by thousands and ten thousands among flocks of readers ever new and ever charmed, and has become part of the household stock of every

sonal favour, that my name and writings may never be mentioned in the 'Edinburgh Review,' Sept. 29, 1842, vol. III. 142." The "Review" had a deep debt to Macaulay; but this was not the right way to pay it.

* Mr. Paget's valuable work, to which we have previously referred (p. 108), was treated by the "Edinburgh Review" in the same fashion. He was charged with ignorance, self-sufficiency, carelessness, and bad faith, though the Reviewer failed to convict him of any mistake or inaccuracy. Mr. Paget very properly declined to enter the arena against a champion who wielded such weapons.

** *In the only one where we chance to have discovered the work, it is a presentation copy.*

family. Since the time when Père Daniel, the Jesuit, with guns at once so ponderous and so weak, replied inaudibly to the raking and devouring fire of Pascal, there never has been a case of such resistless absolutism in a writer, or such unquestioning and general submission in the reading world.

Of this kind has been the justice administered by the tribunals of the day. We sorrowfully admit our total inability to redress the balance. Is there, then, any hope for the perturbed and wandering ghosts whom Macaulay has set agog, for Dundee, for Marlborough, for Quaker Penn, for Madame Piozzi, for the long and melancholy train of rural clergy of the Restoration period, still wearing their disembodied cassocks, in the action of the last, the serenest, the surest, the most awful judge, in the compensating award of posterity? Our hope is, that final justice will be done: but first let us ask whether the injustice which has been done already will, not as injustice, but by virtue of the other and higher elements with which it is fused, stand the trying test of time. Has Macaulay reared a fabric—

"Quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas?"*

Among the topics of literary speculation, there is none more legitimate or more interesting than to consider who, among the writers of a given age, are elected to live; to be enrolled among the Band of the Immortals; to make a permanent addition to the mental patrimony of the human race. There is also none more difficult. Not that there is any difficulty at all in what is technically called purging the roll.

* "Ov. Met." xv. *in fin.*

in supplying any number of names which are to sink (if they have not yet sunk) like lead in the mighty waters, or which, by a slower descent—perhaps like the zigzag from an alpine summit—are to find their way into the repose of an undisturbed oblivion. Sad as it may seem, the heroes of the pen are in the main but fools lighted by the passing day on the road to dusty death. But it is when the list has been reduced, say to a hundredth part of the writers, and to a tenth of the few prominent and well-known writers of the day, that the pinch, so to call it, of the task begins. We now stumble onwards with undefined and partial aids. Bulk will surely kill its thousands; that, which stood the ancient warrior in such good stead, will be fatal to many a modern author, who, but for it, might have lived. And money will as surely have killed its tens of thousands beforehand, by touching them as with palsy. It was one of the glories of Macaulay that he never wrote for money; it was the chief calamity of a yet greater, a much greater, man, of Scott, that iron necessities in later life, happily not until his place had long been secure, set that yoke upon his lofty crest. And few are they who, either in trade or letters, take it for their aim to supply the market, not with the worst they can sell, but with the best they can produce. In the train of this desire, or need, for money comes haste with its long train of evils: crude conception, slipshod execution, the mean stint of labour, suppression of the inconvenient, blazoning of the insignificant, neglect of causes, loss of proportion in the presentation of results: we write from the moment, and therefore we write for the *moment*.

Survival, we venture to suggest, will probably depend not so much on a single quality, as upon a general or composite result. The chance of it will vary directly as quality, and inversely as quantity. Some ores yield too low a percentage of metal to be worth the smelting, whereas had the mass been purer, it had been extracted and preserved. Posterity will have to smelt largely the product of the mines of modern literature; and will too often find the reward in less than due proportion to the task. So much for quantity. But quality itself is not homogeneous; it is made up of positives and negatives. Merits and demerits are subtly and variously combined; and it is hard to say what will be the effect in certain cases of the absence of faults as compared with the presence of excellences, towards averting or commuting that sentence of capital punishment which, estimate as we may the humanity of the age, must and will be carried into wholesale execution. Again, men look for different excellences in works of different classes. We do not hold an "Æneid" or a "Paradise Lost" bound to the veracity of an annalist. We do not look to Burke or Sheridan for an accurate and balanced representation of the acts of Warren Hastings. The subtle gifts of rhetoric, the magic work of poetry, are loved for their own sake; and they are not severely cross-examined upon the possession of historic attributes to which they do not pretend. But rhetoric is not confined to speeches, nor poetry to metre. It can hardly be denied, either by eulogist or detractor, by friend or foe, that both these elements are found in the prose of Macaulay; and if they are most at-

tractive, they are also perilous allies in the work of the historian and the critic.

In truth, if we mistake not, the poetical element in his mind and temperament was peculiar, but was strong and pervading. Those who may incline to doubt our opinion that he was a poet as well as a rhetorician, and, perhaps a poet even more than a rhetorician, would do well to consult the admirable criticism of Professor Wilson on his "Lays." (Trevelyan's 'Life,' III. 144.) We will not dwell upon the fact (such we take it to be) that his works in verse possess the chief merits of his other works, and are free from their faults. But his whole method of touch and handling are poetical. It is, indeed, infinitely remote from the reflective and introspective character, which has taken possession of contemporary poetry among our writers in such a degree, as not only to make its interpretation a work of serious labour, but also to impair its objective force. Macaulay was, perhaps, not strong in his reflective faculties; certainly he gave them little chance of development by exercise. He was eminently objective, eminently realistic; resembling in this the father of all poets, whom none of his children have surpassed, and who never converts into an object of conscious contemplation the noble powers which he keeps in such versatile and vigorous use. In Macaulay all history is scenic; and philosophy he scarcely seems to touch, except on the outer side where it opens into action. Not only does he habitually present facts in forms of beauty, but the fashioning of the form predominates over, and is injurious to, the absolute and balanced presentation of the subject. Macaulay was

a master in execution, rather than in what painting or music terms expression. He did not fetch from the depths, nor soar to the heights; but his power upon the surface was rare and marvellous; and it is upon the surface that an ordinary life is passed, and that its imagery is found. He mingled, then, like Homer, the functions of the poet and the chronicler; but what Homer did was due to his time, what Macaulay did, to his temperament. We have not attempted to ascertain his place among historians. That is an office which probably none but an historian can perform. It is more easy to discover for him contrasts than resemblances. Commonly sound in his classical appreciations, he was an enthusiastic admirer of Thucydides; but there can hardly be a sharper contrast than between the history of Thucydides and the history of Macaulay. Ease, brilliancy, pellucid clearness, commanding fascination, the effective marshalling of all facts belonging to the external world as if on parade—all these gifts Macaulay has, and Thucydides has not. But weight, breadth, proportion, deep discernment, habitual contemplation of the springs of character and conduct, and the power to hold the scales of human action with firm and even hand—these must be sought in Thucydides, and are rarely observable in Macaulay. But how few are the writers whom it would be anything less than ridiculous to place in comparison with Thucydides! The History of Macaulay, whatever else it may be, is the work not of a journeyman but of a great artist, and a great artist who lavishly bestowed upon it all his powers. Such a work, once committed to the press, can hardly die. It is not because it has been translated into a crowd of

languages, nor because it has been sold in hundreds of thousands, that we believe it will live, but because, however open it may be to criticism, it has in it the character of a true and high work of art.

We are led, then, to the conclusion, or the conjecture, that, however the body of our writers may be reduced in a near future by many and many a decimation, Macaulay will, and must, survive. Personal existence is beset with dangers in infancy, and again in age. But authorship, if it survive the first, has little to fear from the after-peril. If it subsist for a few generations (and generations are for books what years are for their writers), it is not likely to sink in many. For works of the mind really great there is no old age, no decrepitude. It is inconceivable that a time should come when Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, shall not ring in the ears of civilised man. On a lower throne, in a less imperial hall of the same mansion, we believe that Macaulay will probably be found, not only in A.D. 2000, which he modestly specifies, but in 3000 or 2850, which he more boldly formulates, or for so much of this long, or any longer lease as the commentators on the Apocalypse will allow the race to anticipate. Whether he will remain as a standard and supreme authority, is another question. Wherever and whenever read, he will be read with fascination, with delight, with wonder. And with copious instruction too; but also with copious reserve, with questioning scrutiny, with liberty to reject, and with much exercise of that liberty. The contemporary mind may in rare cases be taken by storm; but posterity, never. The tribunal of the present is accessible to influence; *that of the future is incorrupt.* The coming genera-

tions will not give Macaulay up, but they will, probably, attach much less value than we have done to his *ipse dixit*. They will hardly accept from him his nett solutions of literary, and still less of historic, problems. Yet they will obtain from his marked and telling points of view great aid in solving them. We sometimes fancy that ere long there will be editions of his works in which his readers may be saved from pitfalls by brief, respectful, and judicious commentary, and that his great achievements may be at once commemorated and corrected by men of slower pace, of drier light, and of more tranquil, broadset, and comprehensive judgment. For his works are in many respects among the prodigies of literature; in some, they have never been surpassed. As lights that have shone through the whole universe of letters, they have made their title to a place in the solid firmament of fame. But the tree is greater and better than its fruit; and greater and better yet than the works themselves are the lofty aims and conceptions, the large heart, the independent, manful mind, the pure and noble career, which in this Biography have disclosed to us the true figure of the man who wrote them.

LIFE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

BY

THEODORE MARTIN.

Vol. II. (London 1876.)

THE production of a Biography in a series of single volumes would not commonly be a safe experiment on the appetite or patience of the public. But, in the present instance, reliance may be placed upon an interest sustained and stimulated by the reason of the case. The whole career of the Prince Consort, and the free exhibition of the life of the Sovereign and the surroundings of the Throne, which it has drawn with it, form a picture which must be interesting, so long as Britons conceive their Monarchy to be a valuable possession; and must be edifying, so long as they are capable of deriving benefit from the contemplation of virtue thoroughly "breathed" with activity, guided by intelligence, and uplifted into elevated station as a mark for every eye. Mr. Martin's handiwork is well known to the world. It neither calls for criticism, nor stands in need of commendation by way of advertisement. In producing all that can give interest to his subject, free scope seems to have been judiciously allowed him. In one respect only, so far as we can judge, he has been rather

heavily weighted in running his race. Perhaps with a view to gratifying the taste of Royal and ex-Royal readers from Germany, he has found it needful to carry his readers somewhat freely into the labyrinthine details of German politics during the years 1848—50, when the Empire was in embryo, and when the attitudes of the various powers and influences at work were imperfectly developed, and for the most part neither dignified nor becoming. The Prince took an active, almost an officious, but a thoroughly patriotic, interest in them; and if he did not find a clew to guide him through the windings, or disclose any signal gift of political prophecy in what he wrote, he, at least, set a good example in his disposition to cast aside the incumbrances of dynastic prejudice, and hold language which had justice and liberality for its rule. It may seem singular, but we take it to be the fact, that he applies a stronger and sharper insight to the Eastern question, as it emerged in 1853, than to the problems offered to his notice by the land of his birth.

The main interest, however, of this Biography, which is, we believe, to secure for it a place in our permanent literature, will not, perhaps be found to lie so much in the treatment of this or that current question of its time, as in the figure and character of the man, as a man, who is its subject, in the light it throws upon the difficult question of his position as a Prince Consort, and in the contribution it supplies towards defining that important position for the future as well as for the past.

The excellence of the Prince's character has become a commonplace, almost a by-word, among us. It is easy to run round the circle of his virtues; diffi-

cult to find a point at which the line is not continuous. He was without doubt eminently happy in the persons who principally contributed from without to develop his capacities, and determine his mental and moral, as well as his exterior, life; namely, in his uncle, his tutor, and his Wife. But how completely did the material answer to every touch that it received; how full, round, and complete it was, as a sculpture; how perseveringly and accurately did the Prince apply a standing genial conception of duty and action to the rapid stream, it might be said, the torrent, of the daily details of life; how much of interest—amidst incessant action, and without the tranquillity necessary for systematic thought—he presents to the class who have no taste for mere action, to the philosophic student; how nearly the life approximates to an ideal; how it seems to lay the foundations for a class and succession of men, if only men could be found good enough, and large enough, to build themselves upon it. Mr. Martin has been impugned by an acute writer* for the uniformity of his laudatory tones. Now, doubtless, it would be too much to expect a drastic criticism of the Prince's intellect in a work produced under the auspices of an adoring affection; but an honest impartiality prompts us to ask whether in the ethical picture here presented to us there really is any trait that calls for censure. If there is anything in the picture of the Prince that directly irritates the critical faculty, is it not

“That fine air;
That pure severity of perfect light,”**

which was insipid to Queen Guinevere in the heyday

* *Nonconformist*, Dec. 9, 1876.

** Tennyson's *Guinevere*.

of her blood, but to which she did homage when the equilibrium of her nature was restored?

There can be little doubt that the Prince will be remembered in future generations with something quite different from that formal and titular remembrance, which belongs to his rank in its relation to the Throne, and which is accorded to Prince George of Denmark. There has not yet been time to determine his exact place among the inheritors of renown, fulfilled or unfulfilled. The silly importunity which has urged Pope Pius IX. to dub himself "The Great" was doubly wrong: wrong, as we think, in urging him to clutch at what he will never get: wrong, beyond all question, in requiring him to fabricate at a stroke a title which has not, and, from its nature, cannot have, yet inured: inasmuch as it can only be conferred by the general sense of an impartial, that is, a succeeding age.* For it is thus alone that the phrase acquires its dignity: *securus judicat orbis terrarum*; manufactured by a contemporary *clique*, it is entitled to no more respect than the forged antiquities, which are daily passed off upon the ravenous appetite of collectors. All that we can venture in this case to propound is, that, with every fresh gush of light upon the Prince's personal history, there is a corresponding growth in his claims to admiration and celebrity, and an intimation of his finally taking a higher rather than a lower place among the departed sons of fame.

At the same time, it would probably be too much to hope that the third volume of Mr. Martin will raise the Prince above the second, as the second has, we think, raised him above the first. The period of the

* Shelley's *Adonais*.

Great Exhibition of 1851, which entailed upon him arduous and constant labour, was probably the climax of his career. This narrative appears to establish his title to the honours of its real origination.* Its nearest analogue in past history would appear to have been the Frankfort fair of the sixteenth century. The mischievous system of narrowing the usefulness of commerce for mankind by what was called Protection had not then been methodised; and the productions of different countries, where adequate channels were open, flowed by a natural process to a common centre. But great discoveries are commonly to be found in germ, either unobserved or imperfectly developed, long before their publication, which marks the stage of maturity in their idea, and makes them part of the general property of mankind. So came the printing-press, so came the steam-engine; and, in this sense, when on July 30, 1849, twenty-one months before the opening, the Prince propounded at Buckingham Palace his conception of the Great Exhibition, as it might be, to four members of the Society of Arts, he established his title to the practical authorship of a no small design. In it were comprised powerful agencies tending to promote the great fourfold benefit of progress in the industrial arts, of increased abundance or diminished stint of the means of living among men, of pacific relations between countries founded on common pursuits, and of what may be termed free trade in general culture.

It was a great work of peace on earth: not of that merely diplomatic peace which is honeycombed with suspicion, which bristles with the apparatus and

* Chap. xxxv. vol. II. 223-5.

establishments of war on a scale far beyond what was formerly required for actual belligerence, and which is potentially war, though still on the tiptoe of expectation for an actual outbreak. It was a more stable peace, founded on social and mental unison, which the Exhibition of 1851 truly, if circuitously, tended to consolidate. And if, in the quarter of a century which has since elapsed, counter influences have proved too strong for the more beneficial agencies, let us recollect that many of the wars which have since occurred have been in truth constructive wars, and have given to Europe the hope of a more firmly knit political organisation; and that, even if this had not been so, the influences of theory and practice associated with the Great Exhibition would still have earned their title to stand along with most other good influences in the world, among things valuable but not sufficient.

During the last decade, however, of his years, from 1852 to 1861, wars, as well as rumours of wars, became the engrossing topic of life and thought to many a mind which, if governed by its own promptings, by the true direction and demand of its nature, would have batted only on the pastures of national union and concord. The Crimean War,—with its fore and after-shadows, began early in 1853, and closed in 1856; it was followed by the Indian Mutiny, and this by the French war panic of 1858—60, which, more than any other cause, encouraged as it was by no small authorities, altered the disposition of the British people in a sense favourable to, and even exigent of, enlarged military and naval establishments. This, we think, was a great misfortune to the Prince, in regard both to the mental movement which required a con-

genial atmosphere and exercise, and to the eventual greatness which was its natural result. He was properly, and essentially, a man of peace. The natural attitude of his mind was not that of polemical action, but of tranquil, patient, and deliberate thought. It was as a social philosopher and hero that he was qualified to excel, rather than as a political or military athlete. It is true, indeed, that the searching fire of continual struggle educated those royal personages, whose destiny in other days or other lands has lain beyond the precincts of the constitutional system. But it is the very pith and essence of that system to remove from sovereigns, and to lay upon their recognised and official servants, the heavier portions of that responsibility and strain, under which a governing will, lodged in a few human brains, or in one only, takes up into itself, and directs, while controlling, the collected force of an entire community. Doubtless even now royalty—we speak of constitutional royalty—acts out in idea, with a certain reality, the contentions which it observes and superintends, and with which at particular points it may actually intermix; but, as a rule, its share in them is an indirect and mediate share. Princes are rather moons than suns in the political firmament; and the tranquil atmosphere in which they dwell, while more favourable in some of its aspects to a reflective and impartial habit of mind, is not calculated to foster the strongest tissue, or develop the hardest forms, of character. While the Peers of England are more remote than the Parliamentary Commoners from living contact with the great seething mass of a highly vitalised community, and while the popular House must, with all its faults,

remain, so long as the Constitution keeps its balance, our highest school of statesmanship, so the Throne, though vexed more than enough with labours and with worries of its own, yet in relation to the sea of political strifes, remains sheltered within an inner and landlocked haven, and the mental habits which it tends to generate will be less masculine though more amiable accordingly.

If there is force in these remarks, they will apply scarcely more to a constitutional sovereign, than to one who attained to such a degree of moral and mental identification with the greatest of all constitutional sovereigns as did the Prince Consort. They have also a peculiar and individual application to a mind, the rich gifts of which were not wayward and unruly, but fitted themselves at every point into the mould supplied for them by his position, and became in consequence an admirable and typical example of what that position, genially apprehended and employed, is calculated to produce.

In this view, those who most highly estimate the Prince's work may well regret that the line of mental movement represented by the Great Exhibition came soon to be deflected towards a different region of human activity. In that region, mankind at large is at once excited and morally enfeebled by rivalries and conflicts hardly ever in their outset generous, and marred from the beginning of the world by their tendency to degenerate, from their first intentions, in the direction of more violent and wide-sweeping passions, more greedy selfishness, and deadlier feuds.

A parallel may be drawn between the Prince Consort and Mr. Pitt, in regard to one striking ch

racteristic of their respective careers. They were both men loving peace. Each of them began, very early in life, to hold a position of high command, and of profound importance to the public welfare, in the midst of pacific ideas, plans, and expectations. Each of them achieved a reputation of the highest order in connexion with this line of thought and action. Upon each of them, and singularly enough upon each of them at the age of thirty-three, there fell what, but for the knowledge that in all mysteries of our life there lies hid but a deeper and larger Providence, we might call an ugly trick of Fortune; an imperious change, not in the man, but in external circumstances which overrule the man, and which carry him, perforce, out of a work well beloved, and more than well begun, into a place and function of opposite conditions, less congenial, and less adapted to favour the development of his character, by leading him up to the highest point of its capacity. Before 1853, England had only to look with sympathy upon the sufferings and disorders of the Continent, while she watched and made provision for her own internal condition. But from that day until the sad day of the Prince's death, she was ever in actual struggle, or in anticipation of struggles deemed probable; and this great change in the nature of the cares and occupations offered to the Prince, the normal bill of fare, so to speak, made ready for him, was to him very much what the Revolutionary War was to Mr. Pitt. With a difference indeed of degree, for the Prince was not over-weighted and absorbed, as Mr. Pitt was from 1793 onwards; but, with an identity of general outline, each of these changes broke up the perfect

harmony that subsisted between the man and his occupation, and probably abstracted something from the ultimate claims of each to pre-eminent renown.

The Prince's life from day to day was, however, not a life fashioned by haphazard, but one determined by conscientious premeditation. What he said, he had usually written; what he did, he had projected. When an important subject presented itself, his tendency and practice was to throw his thoughts on it into shape, and to harmonise its practical bearings with some abstract principle. Though a short, it was a very full and systematic life. So regarding it, we may say that his marital relation to the Sovereign found a development outwards in three principal respects. First, that of assistance to the Queen in her public or political duties. Secondly, in the government of the court and household. Thirdly, in a social activity addressed to the discovery of the wants of the community, and reaching far beyond the scope of Parliamentary interference, as well as to making provision for those wants, by the force of lofty and intelligent example, and of moral authority.

The public mind had for the moment lost its balance at the particular juncture, when for the first time the intervention of the Prince in public affairs became a subject of animadversion. It was at the beginning of 1854, during the crisis of expectation before the Crimean War, the calm that precedes the hurricane. A very short time, and a single day of explanations from Lord Aberdeen and Lord Russell, then the leaders of the two Houses of Parliament, sufficed to set right a matter which we now wonder that any should have had either the will or the power to set wrong. It was

a matter of course that the Queen's husband should be more or less her political adviser; it would have been nothing less than a violence done to nature if, with his great powers and congenial will, any limits had been placed upon the relations of confidence between the two, with respect to any public affairs whatsoever. Had he been an inferior person, his interference would doubtless have been limited by his capacity. But, he being, as he was, qualified to examine, comprehend, and give counsel, the two minds were thrown into common stock, and worked as one. Nay, it does not even seem easy to limit the Sovereign's right of taking friendly counsel by any absolute rule to the case of a husband. If it is the Queen's duty to form a judgment upon important proposals submitted to her by her Ministers, she has an indisputable right to the use of all instruments which will enable her to discharge that duty with effect; subject always, and subject only, to the one vital condition that they do not disturb the relation, on which the whole machinery of the Constitution hinges, between those Ministers and the Queen. She cannot, therefore, as a rule, legitimately consult in private on political matters with the party in opposition to the Government of the day; but she will have copious public means, in common with the rest of the nation, for knowing their general views through Parliament and the Press. She cannot consult at all, except in the strictest secrecy: for the doubts, the misgivings, the inquiries, which accompany all impartial deliberation in the mind of a Sovereign as well as of a subject, and which would transpire in the course of promiscuous conversation, are not *mat- ters fit for exhibition to the world.* The dignity of

the Crown requires that it should never come into contact with the public, or with the Cabinet, in mental dishabille; and that its words should be ripe, well-considered, few. For like reasons, it is plain that the Sovereign cannot legitimately be in confidential communication with many minds. Nor, again, with the representatives of classes or professions as such, for their views are commonly narrow and self-centred, not freely swayed, as they ought to be, by the paramount interests of the whole body politic. We have before us, in these pages, a truly normal example of a personal councillor of the Queen for public affairs in her husband; and another, hardly less normal, in Baron Stockmar. Both of them observed all along the essential condition, without which their action would have been not only most perilous, but most mischievous. That is to say, they never affected or set up any separate province or authority of their own; never aimed at standing as an opaque medium between the Sovereign and her Constitutional advisers. In their legitimate place, they took up their position behind the Queen; but not, so to speak, behind the Throne; they assisted her in arriving at her conclusions, but those conclusions when adopted were hers and hers alone: she, and she only, could be recognised by a Minister as speaking for the Monarch's office. The Prince, lofty as was his position, and excellent as was his capacity, vanished as it were from view, and did not, and could not, carry, as towards them, a single ounce of ultimate authority. If he conferred with Lord Palmerston on matters of delicacy, belonging to the relation between the Sovereign and the Secretary of State, it could only be as the Queen's messenger, and no word spoken by him could be a

final word. He was adjective; but the Queen the only substantive. As the adjective gives colour to the substantive, so he might influence the mind of the Queen; but only through that mind, only by informing that supreme free-agency, could his influence legitimately act; and this doctrine, we apprehend, is not only a doctrine wholesome in itself, but also indisputable, nay, what is more, vital to the true balance of the English monarchy. On the other hand, as the Queen deals with the Cabinet, just so the Cabinet deals with the Queen. The Sovereign is to know no more of any differing views of different Ministers, than they are to know of any collateral representatives of the monarchical office; they are an unity before the Sovereign, and the Sovereign is an unity before them. All this, it will be observed, is not a description of matters of fact, but a setting forth of what the principles of our monarchy presuppose; it is a study from the closet, not the forum or the court; and it would have been more convenient to use the masculine gender in speaking of an abstract occupant of the Throne, but for the fact that we have become so thoroughly disused to it under the experience of forty happy years.

Nice and sound, however, as would appear to have been the application of these principles to practice, on the part of Baron Stockmar, and, in his higher and more difficult position, of the Prince, we take leave to question the theoretic representation* set forward by the one, and accepted by the other; as well as counter-signed by the biographer, at a period of calm very different from the political weather which prevailed at the moment of its production. This representation is

* Vol. II. pp. 545-57.

conveyed in a long letter, dated January 5, 1854, and consisting of two parts. In the second and much the shorter of the two, it is held that the Prince "acts as the Queen's private secretary, and that all else is simply calumnious;" and the right of Her Majesty to the assistance implied under this modest name is justly vindicated (pp. 554-7). But the first portion of the letter contains a Constitutional dissertation, which was in no manner required for the support of these rational propositions, and which is based, as we think, mainly upon misconception and confusion, such as we should not have expected from a man of the Baron's long British experience and acute perceptions. His main propositions appear to be these: that again and again, since the Reform Act, Ministers have failed to sustain the prerogatives of the Crown; that the old Tories, who supported these prerogatives, were extinct, and that the existing Tories were (p. 546) "degenerate bastards;" that the Whigs and "politicians of the Aberdeen School" were conscious or unconscious republicans; that the most jealous Liberalism could not object to "a right on the part of the King to be the permanent President of his Ministerial Council" (p. 547), that Premiers were apt to be swayed by party interests; that no penalty for Ministerial obliquities now remained but that of resignation: that this was insufficient to secure good conduct from the bad or the incapable; that the Sovereign should take part at the deliberations of his Council; that the centre of gravity had been shifted by the Act of 1832 from the House of Lords to the House of Commons; that a well-merited popularity of the Sovereign was to support the House of Lords against the

dangers of democracy, and his direct action in the Government to be a *vis medicatrix naturæ* (p. 551) for maintaining prerogative, and for supplying all defects by a judgment raised above party passions. Yet the right of the Crown is to be merely moral (p. 549); and in the face of it, Ministers would act, as to their measures, with entire freedom and independence; but, as to policy and administration, the Sovereign is primarily charged with a control over them, which he should exercise through the Premier (p. 549).

Thus the Baron. A congeries of propositions stranger in general result never, in our judgment, was amassed in order to explain to the unlearned the more mysterious lessons in the study of the British Monarchy. Taken singly, some of them are truisms, others are qualifications, which usefully restrain or neutralise the companion statements. Some also are misstatements of history; others of fact. For example—The Parliamentary Constitution had its centre of gravity in the House of Commons, not in the House of Lords, before, as well as after, the Reform Act. The House of Lords, in fact, has resisted the will of the House of Commons since the Reform Act, more than it did before the passing of that great statute. The gravest change then effected in regard to the House of Lords was this: that, under the old system, the Peers had in their own hands the virtual appointment of a large section of the House of Commons; whereas now, although their influence in elections is still great, it is exercised through and by what is supposed to be, and in general is, a popular and voluntary vote. The Reform controversy was admirably argued on both sides, not perhaps worse on the side of the opponents

of Reform; some of whom, following up a subtle disquisition of philosophical politics in a previous number of the *Edinburgh Review*, pointed out unanswerably that singular economy, by which the old close boroughs had cushioned off, as it were, the conflicts between the two Houses; and then predicted with truth, though likewise with exaggeration, that when once the House of Lords ceased to assert and express itself by this peculiar method within the House of Commons, it would be driven upon the alternative of more frequently pronouncing an adverse judgment.

Again, Baron Stockmar teaches that the prerogatives of the Crown had been abandoned by successive Ministries, and had no longer any party ready to defend them. It would be much nearer the truth to say that there was no longer any party disposed to assail them. But what means the Baron by "the prerogatives of the Crown?" Are they prerogatives as against the Ministers? or prerogatives as against the Parliament, or the popular branch of it? As against the Ministers, the Sovereign's prerogatives before the Reform Act were: firstly, that of appointing and dismissing them; secondly, that of exercising an influence over their deliberations, which was, as the Baron says, in one of his qualifying passages, in the nature of a moral right or influence. The first of these is virtually a right of appeal from the Cabinet to the Parliament, or the nation, or both: and no such conspicuous instance of its exercise can be cited from our pre-Reform history, as was supplied by William IV. after the Reform Act, in the month of November, 1834, with *no sort of reason* and (it is true) without success.

but also without any strain to the Constitution, or any penalty other than the disagreeable sensation of being defeated, and of having greatly strengthened and reinvigorated by recoil the fortunes of the party on whom it had been meant to inflict an overthrow. As regards the prerogative or power, which gives the Monarch an undoubted *locus standi* in all the deliberations of a Government, it remains as it was; and it is important or otherwise, exactly in proportion to the ability, the character, the experience, and, above all, the attention, which the Sovereign of the day brings to bear upon it. If there be differences, they are not such as Baron Stockmar indicates. It is, indeed, certain that the Monarch has to deal with the popular power in a proximate, instead of a remote position: but so have the Ministers: and likewise that there was once a party of King's friends (as well as a large number of the nominees of Peers), within the House of Commons, by means of whom he could operate to a certain extent, in an unavowed manner, upon or against his Ministers. But of this party we lose all trace after the reign of George III.; so that it supplies no standing ground for the Baron. It is, perhaps, also true that the subordination in the last resort of the royal to the national will, when expressed through the Constitutional organs, which was fact before the Reform Bill, has been patent and admitted fact since that measure became law. The dying throes of independent kingship gave for a moment a real pang to the self-centred mind of George IV., and even imparted a certain interest to his personality, when after many struggles he consented or gave way to the Bill for Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

Baron Stockmar, however, appears to confuse the prerogatives of the Crown, which are really represented by ministerial action in the face of the Legislature, with the personal rights of the Sovereign in the face of and as towards his or her Ministers. And here the question must be cleared by another distinction, of which, in this rather confused and very disappointing letter, he takes no notice: the distinction between the statutory powers of the Crown and those immemorial and inherent powers, which have no written warrant, which form the real and genuine prerogative, and which form a great oral tradition of the Constitution: resembling in their unwritten character what is called the privilege of Parliament, but differing from it in that they are perfectly well defined. In the mouth of Baron Stockmar, the plural word Prerogatives appears to include both classes of three powers, which only ignorance can confuse, though sometimes, even in high official places, ignorance does effectually confuse them. Accepting the phrase for the moment, we ask which of these statutory prerogatives have, since the Reform Act, been forfeited or impaired through the timidity of the Governments down to 1854, or, we might perhaps add, of succeeding Governments? The question is most important, for, by dint of the prerogative proper and these statutory powers, the Ministers, sustained as they are by the Sovereign behind them, form a great part, not only of the executive or deputed, but of the ultimate and supreme governing force in this country. To test the doctrine of Baron Stockmar, let us enumerate some examples of the vigour of the powers of the Crown. We have *already spoken of the great prerogative of dismissal*

of Ministers as it was illustrated in 1834. Surely the prerogative of appointment of Bishops sufficiently proved its animation, against the remonstrance of the Primates and a body of their Suffragans, in the case of Dr. Hampden. The prerogative of peace and war did the same in 1857, when Lord Palmerston carried on, at the charge of the country, a war in China, which the representatives of the people, the stewards of the public purse, had condemned: and when, upon the election to which he had recourse, he received the sanction of the country for what he had done. And the prerogative of dissolution must have been in a healthy state in 1852, to enable a government, supported only by a minority, to perform the work of the session, and carry the supplies before asking the judgment of the constituencies on its title to exist. There is but one prerogative of the Crown, so far as we are able to read the Constitutional history of the country, or rather but one of any great significance, which has suffered of late years. It is the initiative in proposing grants of public money. This prerogative, if such it is to be called, has been seriously and increasingly infringed, to the great detriment of the nation. And this by a double process. The House of Commons was very rarely disposed, before the Reform Act, to press upon the Administration of the day new plans or proposals involving public outlay. After the Reform Act, there was manifested a vicious tendency to multiply these instances, which, however, produced no very serious consequences for the first twenty or twenty-five years, but which has become a great public mischief, since the increasing wealth of the most active and influential classes of the country has brought

about a greater indifference to economy in the public expenditure. Local claims, and the interests of classes and individuals, are now relentlessly and constantly pressed from private and irresponsible quarters, and, though the House of Commons still maintains the rule that money shall not be voted except on the proposal of the Crown, yet it permits itself to be pledged by Addresses, Resolutions, and even the language of Bills and Acts, to outlay in many forms, and these pledges it becomes morally compulsory on Governments in their turn to redeem. But besides the activity of private, professional, and local greed, and the possible cowardice of Ministers in resistance, the House of Lords has done very great mischief in this respect, by voting into Bills the establishment of officers and appointment of salaries, and sending these Bills to the Commons with all such portions printed in italics, a conventional expedient adopted in order to show that they are not presented as parts of the Bill, but only as indications of the view or wish of the House of Lords; in matters, however, in which they have as a body no more right or title to any view or wish at all, than the House of Commons has or had to send in italics, or by any other subterfuge, to the Lords a direction as to the judgments to be given in appeals. Here, then, we have a real case in which a power of the Crown has been greatly and mischievously weakened. But this is a power which probably forms no part of prerogative properly so called. We apprehend that it rests upon no statute, but only on a wise and self-denying rule of the House of Commons itself. The Crown, as such, has no immediate interest in it whatever; and there is not the

smallest reason to suppose that Baron Stockmar knew to what solid truth in this one respect he was giving utterance, or that he in any way cared about the matter.

There is, indeed, one genuine Crown right which has been somewhat disparaged of late years, and that is its title to the Crown Lands. By degrees, it became the custom for the Sovereign, on accession, to surrender the life-interest in these properties to the State, in return for a life-income called the Civil List. But this transaction in no way affected the legal right of the next heir to resume the lands on the expiry of the arrangement. It is undeniable that members of Oppositions, and the blamable connivances of party, have of late years, in various instances, obtained by pressure from the Governments of the day arrangements which touch the reversionary interest. The question is too complex and many-sided for exposition here: but it may be said with truth, first, that the State has dealt liberally as a tenant under a life-lease with the estates given to its control; and, secondly, that the subject is in a constitutional view a small one. Neither shall we here investigate the curious doctrine—in one sense novel, and in another obsolete—of those who contend that the Sovereign has a peculiar relation to the Army, involving some undefined power apart or different from its general relation to the executive portion of the business of government. We shall only observe that, in this country, the standing Army is itself extra-constitutional, and that its entire dependence upon Parliament has been secured, not as in the case of the Civil Services by a single provision, that of requiring annual votes for its support but also by the

further precaution of granting only by annual Mutiny Acts those powers for enforcing discipline which are necessary for its management. Not even a colourable plea can be set up for an exceptional power or prerogative in respect to the Army.

As to the occasion of Baron Stockmar's letter to the Prince, the truth seems to have been this: A most unreasonable and superficial clamour had been raised against the intervention of the Prince as a counsellor, an adviser, in the performance of the Queen's public duties: a clamour due to the peculiar susceptibilities of his time, the aberration of a portion of the press, and the very undue disposition of what is questionably called "good society" to canvass in an ill-natured manner the character and position of one who did not stoop to flatter its many vulgar fancies, and whose strictly ordered life was a continual though silent rebuke to the luxurious licence that large portions of it love and habitually indulge in. Instead of dealing with this practical matter in a practical manner, Baron Stockmar was unhappily tempted to stray into the flowery fields of theory. *S'avid sui floridi sentier*. His constitutional knowledge, apart from his working common sense, which he did not think good enough for so high an occasion, was, after all, only an English top-dressing on a German soil: and hence he has given a perfectly honest but a most misleading exposition of a great subject, highly needful to be rightly apprehended everywhere, and of course most of all in courts.

One of his propositions is that the King, if a clever man—for so (p. 549) it seems to be limited, and we do not envy those who would have to pronounce the

decision "Aye" or "No" upon the point, nor indeed do we know who they are—shall "make use of these qualities at the deliberations of his Council." Now this, to speak with a rustic plainness, is simply preposterous. We take first the ground which would be called the lowest. If the Sovereign is to attend the Cabinet, he must, like other Cabinet Ministers, adapt his life to its arrangements, spend most of the year in London, and when in the country be always ready to return to it at a moment's notice. Perhaps it may be thought that, as would be only seemly, Cabinets could, as a rule, be postponed to suit the convenience of so august a personage. It would be almost as easy to postpone the rising of the sun. But let us suppose him there, not on his throne, but in his arm-chair. He must surely preside; and in that case what becomes of the First Minister? It is a curious, but little observed, fact of our history, that the office of First Minister only seems to have obtained regular recognition as the idea of personal government by the action of the King faded and became invisible. So late as in the final attacks upon Sir Robert Walpole, it was one of the charges against him that he had assumed the functions of First Minister. The presence of the King at the Cabinet either means personal government—that is to say, the reservation to him of all final decisions which he may think fit to appropriate—or else the forfeiture of dignity by his entering upon equal terms into the arena of general, searching, and sometimes warm discussion; nay, and even of voting, too, and of being outvoted, for in Cabinets, and even in the Cabinets reputed best, important questions have sometimes been found to admit of no other form of decision. Now

such is the mass, detail, and technical difficulty of public affairs, that it would be an absolute cruelty to the Sovereign to put him through these agonies; for it is no trifling work and pain to hammer into form the measures and decisions which are, when promulgated, to endure the myriad-minded, myriad-pointed criticism of the Parliament, the press, and the country. At present the Sovereign is brought into contact only with the net results of previous inquiry and deliberation, conducted by other and, as the Constitution presumes, by select men. The Baron's proposal is to immerse him in the crude mass of preliminary pleas and statements, to bring him face to face with every half-formed view, to compel him to deal with each plus and minus, known and unknown, quantity in and by itself, instead of submitting to him only the ascertained sum of the equation. The few remarks now offered are far indeed from exhibiting exhaustively the huge demerits of this unwise proposal; but they may serve to prove or indicate that either, while intolerably cumulating labour, it must sorely impair dignity and authority; or, if it aims at preserving these, the end can only be gained by making the King the umpire and final arbiter of deliberations, to which he listens only for the assistance of his own judgment. That is, they not simply alter, but overturn, the Constitution, by making a personal will supreme over the ascertained representative will of the nation.

If, however, the office of the First Minister would have suffered by the last-named proposal, it seems that compensation was to be given him at the expense of his colleagues. We shall not record any dissent from the general view of the remarkable controversy be-

tween the Crown, or Court, and Lord Palmerston; which is to the effect that, in the main, the Sovereign was right in demanding time and opportunity, of course with a due reserve for the exigencies of urgent business, for a real, and not merely a perfunctory consideration of draft despatches. But with this there seems to have been combined a demand that the drafts of the Foreign Minister should be submitted to the Sovereign only through the head of the Government. It is laid down (p. 300) that the First Minister, as well as the Foreign Secretary, is bound to advise the Crown on questions of Foreign policy; and, we are told, it was accordingly demanded (p. 302)—

“That the despatches submitted for her approval must therefore pass through the hands of Lord John Russell, who, if he should think they required material change, should accompany them with a statement of his reasons.”

It is unquestionable that the Prime Minister, who is entitled to interfere with, and in a well-organised Cabinet is constantly invoked by, every department, has a special concern in Foreign affairs. He will, therefore, have something to say upon the drafts prepared by his colleague. But this, according to the sound law of established practice, he will say to his colleague; and the draft, as it goes to the Sovereign, will express their united view. Instead of this, the proposal seems to have been that the drafts prepared by the Foreign Minister should be discussed and settled between the Prime Minister and the Sovereign. Now almost any system may be made workable by considerate and tender handling; but the method now before us, issued as a hard abstraction, would justly

be said to degrade an office of a dignity and weight second to none after that of the Head of the Government. The transmission through the First Minister seems indeed to have been agreed to, wrongly as we think, by Lord Palmerston (p. 309); and Stockmar in his Memorandum apparently extends this system to all the Ministers, for he says that the control of the Sovereign would be "exercised most safely for the rest of them through the Premier." Thus the Premier would stand between them and the Sovereign. The Baron failed to perceive that this involves a fundamental change in their position: their relations to the Crown become mediate instead of immediate; they are no longer the confidential servants of Her Majesty; he is the sole confidential servant, they are her head clerks: he is in the closet, they stand in the hall without.

To some readers these may appear to be mere subtleties. They certainly escaped eyes of great acuteness, when those of the Prince Consort and of Baron Stockmar passed over them. But every trade has its secrets. The baker and the brewer, the carpenter and the mason, all the fraternity of handicraft and production, have, where they understand their business, certain nice *minutiae* of action neither intelligible to nor seen by the observer from without, but upon which niceties the whole efficiency of their work, and the just balances of its parts, depend. There is nowhere a more subtle machinery than that of the British Cabinet. It has no laws. It has no records. Of the few who pass within the magic circle, and belong to it, many never examine the mechanism which they help to work. Only the most vague con-

ceptions respecting its structure and operations are afloat in the public mind. These things may be pretty safely asserted: that it is not a thing made to order, but a growth; and that no subject of equal importance has been so little studied. We need not wonder if even to the most intelligent foreigner, who gets it up as a lesson from a school-book, it is an unsolved riddle; we may be thankful that the mistaken reasonings of Baron Stockmar never baffled his good sense in practical advice, and that his balloon, even after careering wildly in the fields of air, always managed, when alighting on the earth, to find its way home.

We will now turn to another chapter, where Mr. Martin deals with the Papal Aggression, and with the thoughts which the controversy at that time stirred in the mind of the Prince. He went to work, as his manner was, to "analyse" (p. 341) the crisis, in its Anglican rather than in its Romeward aspect, with philosophical assiduity; and he laid down the principles which he conceived to indicate the true path towards a remedy.

The evil he conceived to be the introduction of Romish doctrines and practices by the Clergy against the will of their congregations, under the assumption of a sole authority. And the cure he found in three propositions, thus expressed (p. 343):

"That the Laity have an equal share of authority in the Church with the Clergy.

"That no alteration in the form of Divine Service shall therefore be made without the formal consent of the Laity.

"Nor any interpretation given of Articles of Faith without their concurrence."

From these, he thought, would spring a "whole living Church constitution," in government and doctrine.

Of these propositions we put aside the first, not only because it is expressed without historical or theological precision, but also and mainly because it is an abstraction. Nor need we dwell upon the third, because, after another quarter of a century's experience, it has not been thought necessary either by Laity or Clergy to call for any new interpretation of Articles of Faith. But the second touches a matter which has invited legislative handling—namely, "the form of Divine Service." And the readers of Mr. Martin will at once be struck with the glaring fact, that the basis for legislation, which was suggested by the Prince, is totally different from that which was accepted by Parliament on the recommendation of the Archbishops and the Earl of Beaconsfield. Nor is the difference of a speculative character; the lines, on which the two work out their results, are lines which cut across one another. In making good this proposition, we shall assume, of course—but it is a very large and generous assumption—that the Act will be both impartially and learnedly worked by the tribunals. So regarding it, we observe that the very rule which the Prince sets up, the Archbishops and the Prime Minister have induced Parliament to trample under foot. The rule of the Prince is that existing practice is so far to be presumed right practice, that it shall not be altered without consent of Laity and Clergy. The basis of the Act is that existing practice, however established by length of time, and however acceptable both to Laity and Clergy, may at any time be chal-

lenged by three parishioners, who may never have even seen the inside of the church as worshippers, and, unless the will of the Bishop intercept the process, is to be upset if it be inconsistent with the judicial, that is the literal, meaning of the words of a statute passed in 1661. Further, it is now the presumable duty of the Clergy of themselves to alter their practice, even against their own inclinations and those of the congregation, where it is not in conformity with the exact prescriptions of that statute in any one of the myriad details which it prescribes. It is true that, where a trial is demanded, the Bishop may stop it. We do not doubt that this power, without which the Act would have been even far worse than it is, will be rationally and prudently exercised by nearly all the Bishops. But the difficulty of so using it will, to the most honest and enlightened mind, be very great: in one or two instances, which it would be invidious to name, we can hardly hope that it will be considerably employed; and if but one Bishop out of twenty-eight or thirty be suitable to their purpose, the wire-pullers at the centre will put up in that diocese their three puppet-parishioners, and seek so to rule the whole country. The whole spirit and tendency of the Act go to narrow discretion; to curtail freedom enjoyed for generations with satisfaction to all; and to tighten practice according to a rule adopted more than two centuries ago, and to such interpretations of that rule as may be pronounced by judges, nearly the whole of whom are not only ignorant of ecclesiastical history and law, but apparently as unaware as babes that such ignorance is either a disqualification or even a disadvantage for the exercise of their office. But

this tendency and spirit of the Act is and has been felt to be so intolerable, that it has been qualified by the interpolation of an arbitrary power, which may extinguish the Act in Diocese A, give it absolute and unrestricted sway in Diocese B, and a mode of operation adjusted to as many points between these extremes in Dioceses from C to Z. Now the Prince's plan, not denying the authority of the law, nor impeding its ultimate enforcement, introduced collaterally into our system a new sanction—namely, a sanction for things established by usage. They were not to be altered without consent of Laity and Clergy. This was his simple plan of change. Where that consent was obtained, and the desire for a change established, still they could only be altered in the direction of conformity with the law, which remained applicable in all its rigour, and without any spurious triad of parishioners or any intervention of an arbitrary *veto*, to unestablished novelties. We have surely here a very notable competition between the plans of the Archbishops and of the Prince.

“Look here upon this picture—and on this.”

The Prince was ever regarded with some jealousy and apprehension by Churchmen: yet some of them may be tempted to wish not only that his most valuable life had been largely prolonged, but that he had been Primate of all England in 1874. We should not then have been trembling at this time in fearful anxiety to learn whether a great and historic Church, rich in work and blessing, rich in traditions, and richer still in promise, is or is not to be the victim of the follies committed in 1874.*

* It is needful to correct an error into which Mr. Martin has fallen, not
The Hellenic Factor etc.

It was to be expected that one, whose life was so steadily held under the control of conscience, should deeply feel the responsibilities attending the education of the Royal children. In no station of life is there such a command, or such a free application, of all the appliances of instruction. The obstacles, which it places in the way of profound and solid learning, are indeed insurmountable. This disability is perhaps compensated by the tendency of the station itself to confer a large amount of general information, and of social training. Our young Princes and Princesses have grown up under a sense of social responsibility, far heavier than that which is felt by, or impressed upon, children born and reared at the degree of elevation next to theirs. In a religious point of view, however, their dangers are immense: and they are greatly aggravated by the fact that, after the earliest periods of life are passed, and anything like manhood is attained, they do not enjoy the benefit of that invaluable check upon thought and conduct, which is afforded by the free communication and mutual correction of equals. They have no equals: the cases, in which a friend can be strong enough and bold enough to tell them the whole truth about themselves,

unnaturally, in a matter lying beside the main scope of his task. He says in p. 338 that after the Papal Brief "the country was put upon the alert, and the progress of proselytism stayed." Chronologically, this is not so. It was shortly after the Papal Brief that the great rush of secessions took place. Then it was that Cardinal Manning carried into the Roman Church those peculiar and very remarkable powers of government, to which she at least has not refused a sphere. Then departed from us Mr. James Hope, Q.C., who may with little exaggeration be called the flower of his generation. With and after them a host of others. It was eminently the time of secessions. It may be difficult to say whether the Papal Brief seriously acted one way or the other. For it was very closely followed by the judgment in the Gorham case, and this may in all likelihood have been the principal cause of a blast which swept away, to their own great detriment as well as ours, a large portion of our most learned, select, and devoted clergy.

are of necessity exceptional. It is much if the air of courts be not tainted with actual falsehood. The free circulation of truth it hardly can permit: and the central personages in them are hereby deprived in a great degree of one of the readiest and most effective helps for their salvation, while they are set up as a mark to attract all the wiles of the designing and the vile.

It is well known, to the infinite honour of Her Majesty and of the Prince, how, especially in the conspicuous instances of the Dowager Lady Lyttelton and of the excellent Dean of Windsor, the best provision, which love and wisdom could suggest, was made for the religious training of the Royal offspring. In this department, as well as in others, the Prince looked for a principle, and a defined scope. As early as March 1842 (p. 175), the inevitable Baron had supplied a Memorandum on the subject. He reverted to it in July 1846 (p. 183), and laid it down that it could not be too soon to settle in what principles the Prince of Wales should be brought up. He deprecated the frame of mind, which leads to indiscriminate conservatism; desired freedom of thought, and a reflective appreciation of practical morality as indispensable to the relation between sovereign and people. And then he proceeded to the question of religion. The law required that "the belief of the Church of England shall be the faith of the members of the Royal Family" (p. 185); and this law must be obeyed. But should not the young Prince's mind in due time be opened to changes in progress, and to the probable effect of discoveries in science? Society, says the Baron, is already divided into two classes. The

first is composed of those, who hope for improvement from increased knowledge of nature, and attention to the laws of our being; which will work out the results intended by the Creator. Of the hierophants of this class the Baron, while he favours them, has not hesitated to write thus: "a constant war is carried on openly, *but more generally from masked batteries*, by this class of persons, on the prevailing religious opinions" (p. 186). "The class contains the seeds of important modifications in the opinions and religious institutions of the British Empire."

Then we have the second class, whom the Baron succinctly describes as "the advocates of supernatural religion." This is frank enough: and no attempt is made to disguise the fact, that the issue raised was between Christianity and Theism. The account given of this class is given *ab extra*, and not as in the other case from within the precinct. It is, accordingly, as might have been expected, fundamentally inaccurate and misleading. "The orthodox believers regard the supernatural portions of Christianity as the basis which sustains its morality, and as the sole foundations of government, law, and subordination." Of misrepresentation Baron Stockmar was incapable; but we have here a strange amount of ignorance. He might as well have said that supernaturalists were men who did not eat or drink, and who held that corporal life was only to be sustained by Divine grace, which was the sole foundation of running and jumping. A man who lives in the second story of a house rests only, it seems, upon the air, and not upon the first story and the basement. But, in truth, the Christian morality enjoys all the supports which belong to the

morality of Stockmar, while it is lifted by the Incarnation to a higher level, with a larger view, and a place nearer to God. We could not expect him to have wasted his time in reading the works of theologians, which, however, he thought himself qualified to describe. Yet he ought surely to have known that S. Paul expressly deduces the binding character of religion (Rom. i. 19, 20) from the book of Nature, and also regards offences against Nature as a distinct and deeper category of sin (*ibid.* 26, 27). Nor would it have been unworthy of him to bear in mind that Dante has placed the violent against Nature in a deeper condemnation even than those who are violent against God (*Inferno*, canto xiv. and xv.). The Baron must have been a good deal puzzled to reconcile his own unequivocal condemnation of supernatural religion with his frank recognition of a legal necessity for training in the Anglican system of belief. Upon the whole, we must say, even with the gratitude every Englishman should feel towards this faithful friend and adviser of his Sovereign, the Memorandum, as it is presented by Mr. Martin, has too much the appearance of one of the "masked batteries" which it describes. But parental wisdom was not to be seduced even by this great authority, and the arrangements for the education of the Prince of Wales were made, we believe, in the old Christian fashion.

It is not, however, as a model either of theological or of political opinion that any human being can profitably be proposed for exact imitation, or that we think the Prince will be longest and best remembered among us. In the speculative man there remained much more of the German, than in the practical. His

contemplation and study of the living and working England were alike assiduous and fruitful; and this man, who never sat upon our Throne, and who ceased at the early age of forty-two to stand beside it, did more than any of our Sovereigns, except very, very few, to brighten its lustre and strengthen its foundations. He did this, by the exhibition in the highest place, jointly with the Queen, of a noble and lofty life, which refused to take self for the centre of its action, and sought its pleasure in the unceasing performance of duty. There has been, beyond all doubt, one perceptible and painful change since his death: a depression of the standard of conduct within the very highest circle of society. In proof of this melancholy proposition, we will specify that branch of morality, which may fairly be taken as a testing-branch—namely, conjugal morality. Among the causes of an incipient change so disastrous to our future prospects, we should be inclined to reckon the death of the Prince Consort, and the disappearance from public view of that majestic and imposing, as well as attractive and instructive, picture of a Court which, while he lived, was always before the eyes of the aristocracy and the nation.

Neither this book, nor any book written from a peculiar point of view, can ever supply a standard history of the period it embraces. It may, nevertheless, supply—and we think it has thus far supplied—a valuable contribution to, and an indispensable part of, such a history. This alone more than justifies the publication. But it has a yet higher title in its faithful care and solid merit as a biography. From the midst of the hottest glow of worldly splendour it has

drawn forth to public contemplation a genuine piece of solid, sterling, and unworldly excellence; a pure and lofty life, from which every man, and most of all, every Christian, may learn many an ennobling lesson; on which he may do well to meditate when he communes with his own heart, in his chamber, and is still.

TWO LETTERS
TO
THE EARL OF ABERDEEN,
ON
THE STATE PROSECUTIONS
OF THE
NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT.

LETTER I.

6, Carlton Gardens, April 7, 1851.

MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,

I MUST begin a letter, which I fear you will find painful, nay revolting, to the last degree, with offering you my cordial thanks for the permission to address it to you.

After a residence of between three and four months at Naples, I have come home with a deep sense of the duty incumbent upon me to make some attempt towards mitigating the horrors, I can use no weaker word, amidst which the Government of that country is now carried on.

As I shall have to detail startling facts, and as I cannot avoid in describing them the use of the strongest language, I must state at the outset, that it was not for the purposes of political censorship that I went to Naples. C'

purely domestic took me and kept me there. I did not carry with me the idea, that it was any part of my duty to look for grievances in the administration of the Government, or to propagate ideas belonging to another meridian. I admit, in the most unqualified manner, the respect that is due from Englishmen, as from others, to Governments in general, whether they be absolute, constitutional, or republican, as the representatives of a public, nay, of a Divine authority, and as the guardians of order. I do not know that there is any other country in Europe, I am sure there is none unless it is in the South of Italy, from which I should have returned with anything like the ideas and intentions which now press upon my mind. On this, among other grounds, I am grateful for your consent to be the recipient of my statement, because it will give weight to my asseveration, that this grievous subject has forced itself upon me, that I am sincere in disclaiming what is called political propagandism, that I have not gathered wholesale and without examination the statements I am about to make, that an important part of them are within my own personal knowledge, and that, as to the rest of those which are stated without qualification, after no want of care in examining their sources and their grounds, I firmly and deliberately believe them.

Without entering at length into the reasons which have led me thus to trouble you, I shall state these three only; first, that the present practices of the Government of Naples, in reference to real or supposed political offenders, are an outrage upon religion, upon humanity, and upon decency.

ctices are certainly, and even

rapidly, doing the work of republicanism in that country: a political creed, which has little natural or habitual root in the character of the people. Thirdly, that as a member of the Conservative party in one of the great family of European nations, I am compelled to remember, that that party stands in virtual and real, though perhaps unconscious, alliance with all the established Governments of Europe as such; and that, according to the measure of its influence, they suffer more or less of moral detriment from its reverses, and derive strength and encouragement from its successes. This principle, which applies with very limited force to the powerful States, whose Governments are strong, not only in military organization, but in the habits and affections of the people, is a principle of great practical importance in reference to the Government of Naples, which, from whatever cause, appears to view its own social, like its physical, position, as one under the shadow of a volcano, and which is doing everything in its power from day to day to give reality to its own dangers, and fresh intensity, together with fresh cause, to its fears.

In approaching the statement of the case, I must premise that I pass over an important prefatory consideration, with respect to the whole groundwork of governing authority in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies at this moment; and that I shall not inquire whether, according to reason and social right, the actual Government of that country be one with or without a title, one of law or one of force. I shall assume that the Constitution of January 1848, spontaneously given, sworn to as irrevocable with every circumstance of solemnity, and never to this day

either legally or even ostensibly revoked, (although contravened in almost every act of the Government,) never existed, and is a pure fiction. I will not appeal to it, because such an appeal might give colour to the idea that my desire was to meddle with the form of Government, and might thus interfere with those purposes of humanity which, and which alone in the first instance, I propose to myself and to you: whereas, in truth, I am firmly of opinion that this very important matter may much more safely and wisely, and indeed can only with propriety, be regarded as an internal question, which it is for the Sovereign of the country to settle with his subjects, apart from any intervention of ours; unless indeed questions should incidentally arise affecting it under the treaty of 1844 between the Two Sicilies and England, upon some parts of which, as a colleague of your Lordship, I had the honour to be employed. With such a topic at present I can have nothing to do; nor should I have alluded to the Neapolitan Constitution in this place at all, but because a recollection of the main facts connected with it is necessary in order in any manner to explain the recent conduct of the Government of Naples, and to give full credibility to statements so astonishing as those which I shall have to make.

I must not suppress the expression of my full persuasion, that in reading this letter you will feel disposed to ask, how can conduct so inhuman and monstrous be pursued without a motive, and what can be the motive here? To answer that question fully, I must enter upon the history of the Neapolitan Constitution. But for the present, and *

the hope of any prompt amendment without a formal controversy, I am content at whatever disadvantage to leave that question unanswered, though a reply to it is certainly essential to the entire development of my case.

One other prefatory word yet remains. In these pages you will find no reference to the struggle waged, and waged successfully, by the King of Naples against his Sicilian subjects, or to the conduct of any of the parties either immediately or indirectly concerned in it. My subject-matter is wholly different: it is the conduct of the Government of that Sovereign towards the Neapolitan or continental subjects, through whose fidelity and courage the subjugation of Sicily was effected.

There is a general impression that the organization of the Governments of Southern Italy is defective—that the administration of justice is tainted with corruption—that instances of abuse or cruelty among subordinate public functionaries are not uncommon, and that political offences are punished with severity, and with no great regard to the forms of justice.

I advert to this vague supposition of a given state of things, for the purpose of stating that, had it been accurate, I should have spared myself this labour. The difference between the faintest outline that a moment's handling of the pencil sketches, and the deepest colouring of the most elaborately finished portrait, but feebly illustrates the relation of these vague suppositions to the actual truth of the Neapolitan case. It is not mere imperfection, not corruption in low quarters, not occasional severity, that I am about to describe: it is incessant, systematic,

deliberate violation of the law by the Power appointed to watch over and maintain it. It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, unwritten and eternal, human and divine; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object, so that the Government is in bitter and cruel, as well as utterly illegal, hostility to whatever in the nation really lives and moves, and forms the mainspring of practical progress and improvement; it is the awful profanation of public religion, by its notorious alliance, in the governing powers, with the violation of every moral law under the stimulants of fear and vengeance; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office, which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up wilfully and deliberately, by the immediate advisers of the Crown, for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, ay, and even if not by capital sentences the life, of men among the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished, and refined of the whole community; it is the savage and cowardly system of moral, as well as in a lower degree of physical, torture, through which the sentences extracted from the debased courts of justice are carried into effect.

The effect of all this is, total inversion of all the moral and social ideas. Law, instead of being respected, is odious. Force, and not affection, is the foundation of Government. There is no association, but a violent antagonism, between the idea of free-

dom and that of order. The governing power, which teaches of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed, in the view of the overwhelming majority of the thinking public, with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the strong and too true expression used, "This is the negation of God erected into a system of Government."*

I confess my amazement at the gentleness of character which has been shown by the Neapolitan people in times of revolution. It really seems as if the hell-born spirit of revenge had no place whatever in their breasts. I know that at any rate some illustrious victims are supported by the spirit of Christian resignation, by their cheerful acceptance of the will of God. But the present persecution is awfully aggravated, as compared with former ones; it differs too in this, that it seems to be specially directed against those men of moderate opinions, whom a Government well stocked even with worldly prudence, whom Macchiavelli, had he been minister, would have made it his study to conciliate and attach. These men, therefore, are being cleared away; and the present efforts to drive poor human nature to extremes cannot wholly fail in stirring up the ferocious passions, which never, to my belief, since the times of the heathen tyrants, have had so much to arouse, or so much to palliate when aroused, their fury.

I must first speak of the extent and scale of the present proceedings.

The general belief is, that the prisoners for political offences in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are between fifteen, or twenty, and thirty thousand. The

* *È la negazione di Dio eretta a sistema di governo.*

Government withholds all means of accurate information, and accordingly there can be no certainty on the point. I have, however, found that this belief is shared by persons the most intelligent, considerate, and well-informed. It is also supported by what is known of the astonishing crowds confined in particular prisons; and especially by what is accurately known in particular provincial localities, as to the numbers of individuals missing from among the community. I have heard these numbers for example at Reggio, and at Salerno; and from an effort to estimate them in reference to population, I do believe that twenty thousand is no unreasonable estimate. In Naples alone, some hundreds are at this moment under indictment *capitally*; and when I quitted it, a trial was expected to come on immediately, (called that of the fifteenth of May,) in which the number charged was between four and five hundred; including (though this is a digression) at least one or more persons of high station, whose opinions would in this country be considered more Conservative than your own.

The Neapolitan Government, indeed, appears to have something of the art which Mr. Burke declared to be beyond him; he "did not know how to frame an indictment against a people." After considering what I have said, pray consider next, that the number of refugees and persons variously concealed, probably larger, perhaps much larger, than that of the prisoners, is also to be reckoned. We must then remember, that a very large proportion of these prisoners belong to the middle class, (though there are also considerable numbers of the working class,) and further, that the numbers of the middle class, in

the kingdom of Naples, (of which region I shall speak all through, meaning the Regno, or continental dominions, of his Sicilian Majesty,) must be a much smaller part of the entire population, than they are among ourselves. We must next consider that of these persons very few have independent means of support for their families; not to mention that, as I *hear*, confiscation or sequestration upon arrest is frequent. So that generally each case of a prisoner or refugee becomes the centre of a separate circle of human misery; and now there may be some inkling of the grounds for saying that the system, the character of which I am about to examine further, has whole classes for its object, and those classes the very classes upon which the health, solidity, and progress of the nation mainly depend.

But why should it seem strange that the Government of Naples should be at open war with those classes? In the schools of the country it is, I have heard, compulsory to employ the political Catechism ascribed to the Canonico Apuzzi, of which I have a copy. In this catechism, civilization and barbarism are represented as two opposite extremes, both of them vicious; and it is distinctly taught, taught therefore by the Government of Naples, that happiness and virtue lie in a just *mean* between them.

But again. Shortly after I reached Naples I heard a man of eminent station accused, with much vituperation, of having stated that nearly all those who had formed the "Opposition" in the Chamber of Deputies under the Constitution were in prison or in exile. I frankly own my impression was, that a *statement* apparently so monstrous and incredible deserved

the reprobation it was then receiving. It was (I think) in November last. The Chamber had been elected by the people under a Constitution freely and spontaneously given by the King: elected twice over, and with little change, but that little in favour of the Opposition. No *one* of the body, I think, had then been brought to trial (although I may state, in passing, one of them had been assassinated by a priest named Peluso, well known in the streets of Naples when I was there, never questioned for the act, and said to receive a pension from the Government). So that I put down the statement as a fiction, and the circulation of it as, at the very least, a gross indiscretion or more. What was my astonishment when I saw a list in detail which too fully proved its truth; nay, which in the most essential point proved more.

It appears, my dear Lord, that the full complement of the Chamber of Deputies was 164; elected by a constituency which brought to poll about 117,000 votes. Of these about 140 was the greatest number that came to Naples to exercise the functions of the Chamber. An absolute majority of this number, or seventy-six, besides some others who had been deprived of offices, had either been arrested or had gone into exile. So that after the regular formation of a popular representative Chamber, and its suppression in the teeth of the law, the Government of Naples has consummated its audacity by putting into prison, or driving into banishment for the sake of escaping prison, an actual majority of the representatives of the people.

I have now said enough upon the scale of these proceedings; and I pass to the examination of their

character: and first their character in point of law, because I have charged the Government with systematic violation of it.

The law of Naples, as I have been informed, requires that personal liberty shall be inviolable, except under a warrant from a Court of Justice authorised for the purpose. I do not mean the Constitution, but the law anterior to and independent of the Constitution. This warrant, I understand, must proceed upon actual depositions, and must state the nature of the charge, or it must be communicated immediately afterwards, I am not sure which.

In utter defiance of this law, the Government, of which the Prefect of Police is an important member, through the agents of that department, watches and dogs the people, pays domiciliary visits, very commonly at night, ransacks houses, seizing papers and effects and tearing up floors at pleasure under pretence of searching for arms, and imprisons men by the score, by the hundred, by the thousand, without any warrant whatever, sometimes without even any written authority at all, or anything beyond the word of a policeman; constantly without any statement whatever of the nature of the offence.

Nor is this last fact wonderful. Men are arrested, not because they have committed, or are believed to have committed, any offence; but because they are persons whom it is thought convenient to confine and to get rid of, and against whom therefore some charge must be found or fabricated.

The first process, therefore, commonly is to seize them and imprison them; and to seize and carry off *books*, *papers*, or whatever else these degraded hire-

lings may choose. The correspondence of the prisoner is then examined, as soon as may be found convenient, and he is himself examined upon it: in secret, without any intimation of the charges, which as yet in fact do not exist; or of the witnesses, who do not exist either. In this examination he is allowed no assistance whatever, nor has he at this stage any power of communication with a legal adviser! He is not examined only, but, as I *know*, insulted at will and in the grossest manner, under pretence of examination, by the officers of the police. And do not suppose that this is the fault of individuals. It is essential to the system, of which the essential aim is, to *create* a charge. What more likely than that, smarting under insult, and knowing with what encouragement and for whose benefit it is offered, the prisoner should for a moment lose his temper, and utter some expression disparaging to the sacred majesty of the Government? If he does, it goes down in the minutes against him: if he does not, but keeps his self-command, no harm is done to the great end in view.

His correspondence is examined as well as himself. Suppose him a man of cultivated intelligence: he has probably watched public affairs and followed their vicissitudes. His copies of letters, or the letters to him which he may have kept, will contain allusions to them. The value of this evidence as evidence would of course depend upon giving full effect to all these allusions taken in connection one with the other. But not so: any expression which implies disapproval (since nothing is easier than to construe disapproval into disaffection, disaffection into an intention of revolution or of regicide) is entered on the minutes.

Suppose there happens to be some other, which entirely destroys the force of the former, and demonstrates the loyalty of the victim: it is put by as of no consequence; and if he remonstrate, it is in vain. In countries where justice is regarded acts are punished, and it is deemed unjust to punish thoughts; but in this case thoughts are forged in order that they may be punished. I here speak of what I know to have happened, and have imagined or heightened *nothing*.

For months, or for a year, or for two years, or three, as the case may be, these prisoners are detained before their trials; but very generally for the longer terms. I do not happen to have heard of any one tried at Naples on a political charge, in these last times, with less than sixteen or eighteen months of previous imprisonment. I have *seen* men still waiting, who have been confined for six and twenty months; and this confinement, as I have said, began by an act not of law, but of force in defiance of law. There may be cases, doubtless there are, of arrests under warrant, after depositions: but it is needless to enter upon what is, I believe, purely exceptional.

I do not scruple to assert, in continuation, that when every effort has been used to concoct a charge, if possible, out of the perversion and partial production of real evidence, this often fails: and then the resort is to perjury and to forgery. The miserable creatures to be found in most communities, but especially in those where the Government is the great agent of corruption upon the people, the wretches who are ready to sell the liberty and life of fellow-subjects for gold, and to throw their own souls into the bargain, *are deliberately* employed by the Executive Power, to

depose according to their inventions against the man whom it is thought desirable to ruin. Although, however, practice should by this time have made perfect, these depositions are generally made in the coarsest and clumsiest manner; and they bear upon them the evidences of falsehood in absurdities and self-contradictions, accumulated even to nausea. But what then? Mark the calculation. If there is plenty of it, some of it, according to the vulgar phrase, will stick. Do not think I am speaking loosely. I declare my belief that the whole proceeding is linked together from first to last; a depraved logic runs through it. Inventors must shoot at random, therefore they take many strings to their bow. It would be strange indeed, and contrary to the doctrine of chances, if the whole forged fabric were dissolved and overthrown by self-contradiction. Now let us consider practically what takes place. Suppose nine-tenths too absurd to stand even before the Neapolitan Courts; of this portion some is withdrawn by the police and not carried into the trial at all, after they have been made aware, through the prisoner's or his counsel's assistance, of its absurdity; the rest is overlooked by the judges. In any other country it would of course lead to inquiry, and to a prosecution for perjury. Not so there; it is rather regarded as so much of well-meant and patriotic effort, which, through untoward circumstances, has failed. It is simply neutralized and stands at *zero*. But there remains the *one-tenth* not self-contradicted. Well, but surely, you will say, the prisoner will be able to rebut that, if false, by counter-evidence. Alas! he may have counter-evidence mountains high, but *he is not allowed to bring it*. I know *this is hardly*

credible, but it is true. The very men tried while I was at Naples named and appealed to the counter-evidence of scores and hundreds of men of all classes and professions—military, clergy, Government functionaries, and the rest; but in every instance, with, I believe, one single exception, the Court, the Grand Criminal Court of Justice, refused to hear it: and in that one case the person, when called, fully bore out the statement of the prisoner. Of course the assertion of the accused, however supported by the evidence of station and character, goes for nothing against the small remaining fragment not self-destroyed of the fictions of the vilest wretch, however such a fragment be buried beneath presumptions of falsehood; and this fragment, being thus secured from confutation, forms the pillow on which the consciences of the judges, after the work of condemnation, calmly and quietly repose.

I ought, however, to point out, for the sake of accuracy, that, when the forged testimony has been procured, the Government are in a condition to present it to the Court, obtain a warrant, and so far legalize the imprisonment.

Now, how are these *detenuti* treated during the long and awful period of apprehension and dismay between their illegal seizure and their illegal trial? The prisons of Naples, as is well known, are another name for the extreme of filth and horror. I have really seen something of them, but not the worst. This I have seen, my Lord: the official doctors not going to the sick prisoners, but the sick prisoners, men almost with death on their faces, toiling upstairs to them at that charnelhouse of the Vicaria, because

the lower regions of such a palace of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them. As to diet, I must speak a word for the bread that I have seen. Though black and coarse to the last degree, it was sound. The soup, which forms the only other element of subsistence, is so nauseous, as I was assured, that nothing but the extreme of hunger could overcome the repugnance of nature to it. I had not the means of tasting it. The filth of the prisons is beastly. The officers, except at night, hardly ever enter them. I was ridiculed for reading with some care pretended regulations posted up on the wall of an outer room. One of them was for the visits of the doctors to the sick. I saw the doctors with that regulation over them, and men with one foot in the grave visiting them, not visited by them. I have walked among a crowd of between three and four hundred Neapolitan prisoners: murderers, thieves, all kinds of ordinary criminals, some condemned and some uncondemned, and the politically accused indiscriminately: not a chain upon a man of them, not an officer nearer than at the end of many apartments, with many locked doors and gratings between us; but not only was there nothing to dread, there was even a good deal of politeness to me as a stranger. They are a self-governed community, the main authority being that of the *gamorristi*, the men of most celebrity among them for audacious crime. Employment they have none. This swarm of human beings all slept in a long low vaulted room, having no light except from a single and very moderate sized grating at one end. The political prisoners, by pay-

ment, had the privilege of a separate chamber off the former, but there was no division between them.

This is not well, but it is far from being the worst. I will now give your Lordship another specimen of the treatment administered at Naples to men illegally arrested, and as yet uncondemned. From the 7th of December last to the 3rd of February, Pironte, who was formerly a judge, and is still a gentleman, and who was found guilty on or about the last-named day, spent his whole days and nights, except when on his trial, with two other men, in a cell at the *Vicaria*, about eight feet square, below the level of the ground, with no light except a grating at the top of the wall, out of which they could not see. Within the space of these eight feet, with the single exception I have named, Pironte and his companions were confined during these two months; neither for Mass were they allowed to quit it, nor for any other purpose whatsoever! This was in Naples, where by universal consent matters are far better than in the provinces. The presence of strangers has some small influence on the Government: the eye of humanity, or of curiosity, pierces into some dark crannies here, that are wholly unpenetrated in the remoteness of the Provinces, or in those lonely islands scattered along the coast, whose picturesque and romantic forms delight the eye of the passing voyager, ignorant what huge and festering masses of human suffering they conceal. This, I say, was in Naples; it was the case of a gentleman, a lawyer, a judge, accused but uncondemned. Do not suppose it is selected and exceptional. I had no power to select, except from what happened to become known to me, from among a sample quite in-

significant in comparison with what must have remained unknown to me. And now, after this one fact, does not the strange and seemingly mad charge I have made against the Neapolitan Government begin, as the light of detail flows in upon it, to assume method and determinate figure?

There was another case that I learned, which I believe I can report with accuracy, though my knowledge of it is not quite the same as of the last. When I left Naples, in February, the Baron Porcari was confined in the Maschio of Ischia. He was accused of a share in the Calabrian insurrection, and was awaiting his trial. This Maschio is a dungeon without light, and 24 feet or palms (I am not sure which) below the level of the sea. He is never allowed to quit it day or night, and no one is permitted to visit him there, except his wife—once a fortnight.

I have now probably said enough of the proceedings previous to trial; but there is one small gap to fill up. If the arrest is contrary to law, why not, it may be asked, bring an action for false imprisonment? I have made some inquiry upon that head. I understand that as in other points, so neither in this, is the *law* defective; that such an action might probably be brought, and might in argument be made good, but the want is that of a Court which would dare to entertain it. This will be better understood when I come to speak of the political sentences: for the present I pass on.

And now, perhaps, I cannot do better than to furnish a thread to my statement by dealing particularly with the case of Carlo Poerio. It has every recommendation for the purpose. His father was a

distinguished lawyer. He is himself a refined and accomplished gentleman, a copious and eloquent speaker, a respected and blameless character. I have had the means of ascertaining in some degree his political position. He is strictly a Constitutionalist; and while I refrain from examining into the shameful chapter of Neapolitan history which that word might open, I must beg you to remember that its strict meaning there is just the same as here, that it signifies a person opposed in heart to all violent measures, from whatever quarter, and having for his political creed the maintenance of the monarchy on its legal basis, by legal means, and with all the civilizing improvements of laws and establishments which may tend to the welfare and happiness of the community. His pattern is England, rather than America or France. I have never heard him charged with error in politics, other than such as can generally be alleged with truth against the most highminded and loyal, the most intelligent and constitutional, of our own statesmen. I must say, after a pretty full examination of his case, that the condemnation of such a man for treason is a proceeding just as much conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency, and fair play, and to the common sense of the community, in fact just as great and gross an outrage on them all, as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best known public men, Lord John Russell, or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham, or yourself. I will not say it is precisely the same as respects his rank and position, but they have scarcely any public man who stands higher, nor is there any one of the names I have *mentioned* dearer to the English nation—perhaps none

so dear—as is that of Poerio to his Neapolitan fellow-countrymen.

I pass by other mournful and remarkable cases, such as that of Settembrini, who, in a sphere by some degrees narrower, but with a character quite as pure and fair, was tried with Poerio and forty more, and was capitally convicted, in February, though through an humane provision of the law the sentence was not executed; but he has, I fear, been reserved for a fate much harder: double irons for life, upon a remote and sea-girt rock: nay, there may even be reason to fear that he is directly subjected to physical torture. The mode of it, which was specified to me upon respectable though not certain authority, was the thrusting of sharp instruments under the finger-nails.

I shall likewise say very little upon the case of Faucitano, who, like Settembrini, was tried with Poerio in the same batch of forty-two prisoners during the winter. His case is peculiar, since there really was a foundation for the charge. The charge was an intention to destroy, by means of some terrible explosive agents, several of the Ministers and other persons. The foundation was, that he had in his breast-pocket, on a great public occasion, a single bottle, which exploded there without injuring him in life or limb! It is likely that he had intended some freak or folly, but he was condemned to death. Till within a few hours of the time appointed, it was believed he would be executed. The Bianchi were in the streets, collecting alms to purchase masses for his soul. He was in the chapel of the condemned, with the priests about him, when, during the night, his case having been discussed at a council in the daytime, there came down

from Caserta a messenger with orders for his reprieve. I have learned the agency through which that reprieve was procured, but the notice of it is unnecessary for my present purpose.

Carlo Poerio was one of the Ministers of the Crown under the Constitution, and had also one of the most prominent positions in the Neapolitan Parliament. He was, as regarded the Sicilian question, friendly to the maintenance of the unity of the kingdom. He was also friendly to the War of Independence, as it was termed; but I have never heard that he manifested greater zeal in that matter than the King of Naples; it is a question, of course, wholly irrespective of what we have now to consider. Poerio appeared to enjoy the King's full confidence; his resignation, when offered, was at first declined, and his advice asked even after its acceptance.

The history of his arrest, as detailed by himself, in his address of February 8, 1850, to his judges, deserves attention. The evening before it (July 18, 1849), a letter was left at his house by a person unknown, conceived in these terms:—"Fly; and fly with speed. You are betrayed! the Government is already in possession of your correspondence with the Marquis Dragonetti.—From one who loves you much." Had he fled, it would have been proof of guilt, ample for those of whom we are now speaking. But he was aware of this, and did not fly. Moreover, no such correspondence existed. On the 19th, about four in the afternoon, two persons, presenting themselves at his door under a false title, obtained entry, and announced to him that he was arrested in virtue of a verbal order of Peccheda, the Prefect of §

He protested in vain: the house was ransacked: he was carried into solitary confinement. He demanded to be examined, and to know the cause of his arrest within twenty-four hours, according to law, but in vain. So early, however, as on the sixth day, he was brought before the Commissary Maddaloni; and a letter, with the seal unbroken, was put into his hands. It was addressed to him, and he was told that it had come under cover to a friend of the Marquis Dragonetti, but that the cover had been opened in mistake by an officer of the police, who happened to have the same name, though a different surname, and who, on perceiving what was within, handed both to the authorities. Poerio was desired to open it, and did open it, in the presence of the Commissary. Thus far, nothing could be more elaborate and careful than the arrangement of the proceeding. But mark the sequel. The matter of the letter of course was highly treasonable; it announced an invasion by Garibaldi, fixed a conference with Mazzini, and referred to a correspondence with Lord Palmerston, whose name was miserably mangled, who promised to aid a proximate revolution. "I perceived at once," says Poerio, "that the handwriting of Dragonetti was vilely imitated, and I said so, remarking that the internal evidence of sheer forgery was higher than any amount of material proof whatever." Dragonetti was one of the most accomplished of Italians; whereas this letter was full of blunders, both of grammar and of spelling. It is scarcely worth while to notice other absurdities; such as the signature of name, surname, and title in full, and the transmission of such a letter by the ordinary post of Naples. Poerio had among his papers certain

genuine letters of Dragonetti's; they were produced and compared with this; and the forgery stood confessed. Upon the detection of this monstrous iniquity, what steps were taken by the Government to avenge not Poerio, but public justice? None whatever: the papers were simply laid aside.

I have taken this detail from Poerio himself, in his Defence; but all Naples knows the story, and knows it with disgust.

Poerio's papers furnished no matter of accusation.

It was thus necessary to forge again; or rather perhaps to act upon forgeries which had been prepared, but which were at first deemed inferior to the Dragonetti letter.

A person named Jervolino, a disappointed applicant for some low office, had been selected for the work both of espionage and of perjury; and Poerio was now accused, under information from him, of being among the chiefs of a republican sect, denominated the *Unità Italiana*, and of an intention to murder the King. He demanded to be confronted with his accuser. He had long before known, and named Jervolino to his friends, as having falsely denounced him to the Government; but the authorities refused to confront them; the name was not even told him; he went from one prison to another; he was confined, as he alleges, in places fit for filthy brutes rather than men; he was cut off from the sight of friends; even his mother, his sole remaining near relation in the country, was not permitted to see him for two months together. Thus he passed some seven or eight months in total ignorance of any evidence *against him*, or of those who gave it. *During that*

interval Signor Antonio de' Duchi di Santo Vito came to him, and told him the Government knew all; but that if he would confess, his life would be spared. He demanded of his judges on his trial that Santo Vito should be examined as to this statement: of course it was not done. But more than this. Signor Peccheneda himself, the director of the police, and holding the station of a cabinet minister of the King, went repeatedly to the prison, summoned divers prisoners, and with flagrant illegality examined them himself, without witnesses, and without record. One of these was Carafa. By one deposition of this Carafa, who was a man of noble family, it was declared, that Peccheneda himself assured him his matter should be very easily arranged, if he would only testify to Poerio's acquaintance with certain revolutionary handbills. It could not be; and the cabinet minister took leave of Carafa with the words—"Very well, sir; you wish to destroy yourself; I leave you to your fate."

Such was the conduct of Peccheneda, as Poerio did not fear to state it before his judges. I must add, that I have heard, upon indubitable authority, of other proceedings of that minister of the King of Naples, which fully support the credibility of the charge.

Besides the *denunzia*, or accusation, of Jervolino, on which the trial ultimately turned, there was against Poerio the evidence given by Romeo, a printer, and co-accused, to the effect that he had heard another person mention Poerio as one of the heads of the sect. The value of this evidence may be estimated from the fact that it included along with Poerio two of the persons *then* ministers, the Cav. Bozzelli and

the Principe di Torella. It was in fact abandoned as worthless, for it spoke of Poerio as a chief in the sect; but this was in contradiction with Jervolino, and the charge of membership only was prosecuted against him. But again, you will remark, the prisoner in no way took benefit from the explosion or failure of any charge; all proceedings went on the principle that the duty of Government was to prove guilt, by means true or false, and that public justice has no interest in the acquittal of the innocent.

There was also the testimony of Margherita, another of the co-accused. He declared, upon an afterthought, that Poerio attended a meeting of the high council of the sect. He declared also that, as a member of this republican and revolutionary sect, Poerio was one of three who contended for maintaining the monarchical constitution; and that he was accordingly expelled! On this ground, not to mention others, the evidence of Margherita was unavailable.

It is too easy to understand why these efforts were made by the co-accused at inculpating Poerio and other men of consideration. But they did not issue in relief to the parties who made them, perhaps because their work was so ill executed, or even their treachery not thought genuine. Margherita was confined at Nisida, in February, in the same room with those whom he had denounced. Nay, he had actually been chained to one of them. I shall hereafter describe what this joint chaining is.

The accusation then of Jervolino* formed the sole real basis of the trial and condemnation of Poerio.

* Poerio was named in the evidence of Carafa; but in a manner tending positively to prove his innocence.

Upon this evidence of a man without character or station, and who was a disappointed suitor for office that he thought he should have had by Poerio's means, a gentleman of the highest character, recently a confidential and favoured servant of the King, was put upon trial for his life.

The matter of the accusation was this. Jervolino stated that, having failed to obtain an office through Poerio, he asked him to enrol him in the sect of the *Unità Italiana*. That Poerio put him in charge of a person named Attanasio, who was to take him to another of the prisoners, named Nisco, that he might be admitted. That Nisco sent him to a third person named Ambrosio, who initiated him. He could not recollect any of the forms, nor the oath of the sect! Of the certificate or diploma, or of the meetings, which the rules of the sect when published (as the Government professed to have found them) proved to be indispensable for all its members, he knew nothing whatever!

How did he know, said Poerio, that I was of the sect when he asked me to admit him? No answer. Why could not Nisco, who is represented in the accusation as a leader, admit him? No answer. If I, being a Minister of the Crown at the time, was also a member of the sect, could it be necessary for me to have him thus referred to one person, and another, and a third, for admission? No answer. Why has not Ambrosio, who admitted him, been molested by the Government? No answer. Could I be a sectarian when, as a Minister, I was decried and reviled by the exalted party in all their journals for holding fast by

the Constitutional Monarchy? No answer. Nay, such was the impudent stupidity of the informer, that, in detailing the confidences which Poerio, as he said, had made to him, he fixed the last of them on May 29, 1849; upon which Poerio showed that on May 22, or seven days before, he was in possession of a written report and accusation, made by Jervolino, as the appointed spy upon him, to the police: and yet, with this in his hand, he still continued to make him a political confidant!

Such was a specimen of the tissue of Jervolino's evidence; such its contradictions and absurdities. Jervolino had, shortly before, been a beggar; he now appeared well dressed and in good condition. I have stated that the multitudes of witnesses called by the accused in exculpation were in no case but one allowed to be called. That one, as I have learned it, was this:—Poerio alleged, that a certain archpriest declared Jervolino had told him he received a pension of twelve ducats a month from the Government for the accusations he was making against Poerio: and the archpriest, on the prisoner's demand, was examined. The archpriest confirmed the statement, and mentioned two more of his relatives who could do the same. In another case I have heard that six persons to whom a prisoner appealed as witnesses in exculpation, were thereupon themselves arrested. Nothing more likely.

I myself heard Jervolino's evidence discussed, for many hours, in court; and it appeared to me that the tenth part of what I heard should not only have ended the case, but have secured his condign punishment for perjury.

I must, however, return to the point, and say

had his evidence been self-consistent and free from the grosser presumptions of untruth, the very fact of his character, as compared with Poerio's, was enough to have secured the acquittal of the accused with any man who had Justice for his object. Nor do I believe there is one man in Naples, of average intelligence, who believes one word of the accusation of Jervolino.

Two exceptions were taken in the course of these proceedings. It was argued by the counsel for Poerio, that the Grand Court Extraordinary, before which the trial took place, was incompetent to deal with the case, because the charge referred to his conduct while a minister and a member of the Chamber of Deputies: and by the 48th Article of the Constitutional Statute all such charges were to be tried by the Chamber of Peers. The exception was rejected: and the rejection confirmed upon appeal.

The second exception was this. It was distinctly charged against the prisoners that their supposed sect had conspired against the life of some of the Ministers, and of the judge Domenic-antonio Navarro, the President of the Court; first, by means of the bottle that exploded in the pocket of Faucitano; secondly, by means of a body of *pugnatori* or assassins, who were to do the work if the bottle failed. This intention purported to be founded on the cruelty of the judgments he had pronounced upon innocent persons. The prisoners protested against being tried by him, and he himself presented a note to the Court stating he felt scruples about proceeding with the case, and desired to be guided by the rest of the Court. The Court **unanimously** decided that he ought to sit and judge

these men upon a charge including the allegation of their intent to murder him; and fined the prisoners and their counsel 100 ducats for taking the objection! This decision, too, was confirmed upon appeal; and the Courts both sagely observed, that the scruple felt by Navarro was itself such a proof of the impartial, delicate, and generous nature of his mind, as ought to show that he could not possibly be under any bias; while they admitted, that under the law of Naples, if he had even within five years been engaged in any criminal suit as a party against them, he could not have sat. So this delicate, impartial, and generous-minded man, accordingly, sat and tried the prisoners. In the case where I have heard the detail of the voting of the judges, Navarro voted for condemnation, and for the severest form of punishment. I have been told, and I believe he makes no secret of his opinion, that all persons charged by the King's Government ought to be found guilty. I have been told, and I fully believe, that Poerio, whose case was certainly a pretty strong one, even for the Neapolitan judges, would have been acquitted by a division of four to four (such is the humane provision of the law in case of equality), had not Navarro, by the distinct use of intimidation, that is of threats of dismissal, to a judge whose name has been told me, procured the number necessary for a sentence.* But I need not go into these foul recesses. I stand upon the fact that Navarro, whose life, according to the evidence for the charge, was aimed at by the prisoners, sat as President of the Court that tried them for their lives; and I ask whether

* He appears to have been finally found guilty (of belonging to the sect) by six of his Judges.—NOTE, July 11, 1851.

language can exaggerate the state of things in a country where such enormities are perpetrated under the direct sanction of the Government?

So much for the exceptions. I must observe on another curious point, with reference to the court of justice. It did not sit as an ordinary, but as a special, Court. When a Court sits specially, it is with a view to dispatch. On these occasions the process is shortened by the omission of many forms, most valuable, as I am assured, for the defence of the prisoner. Above forty persons, on that single occasion, were thus robbed of important aids, with a view to expedition; and yet these men had been sixteen or eighteen months and upwards in prison before they were brought to trial!

I shall now give an indication, not of the impartiality of the Court, but of the degree of decency with which its partiality is veiled. In two cases it happened to be within the knowledge of the counsel for the prisoners that the perjured witnesses against them did not even know them by sight. In one of these the counsel desired to be allowed to ask the witness to point out the accused persons among the whole number of those charged, who were all sitting together. The Court refused permission. In the other case, the counsel challenged the witness to point out the man of whose proceedings he was speaking. If I am rightly informed, Navarro, whom I have so lately mentioned, affecting not to hear the question, called out to the prisoner, "Stand up, Signor Nisco; the Court has a question to ask you." This was done, and Counsel then informed that he might pursue his examination. A laugh of bitter mockery ran through the Court.

I must now place before you an example of the

humanity with which invalid prisoners are treated by the Grand Criminal Court at Naples. The statement is not mine; but it proceeds from a gentleman and an eye-witness, and one who thoroughly understands the language.

"The original number of the persons under trial for forming part of the imaginary society christened by the police the *Unità Italiana*, was forty-two. The list was headed by the name of Antonio Leipnecher, now no more. His illness prevented the Court sitting for some days. At last Navarro informed the medical men attached to the prisons, that their consciences must find means to certify the possibility of Leipnecher's attendance on the following morning.

"On the following morning I was on my way to the tribunal with a friend, when we met one of the doctors with whom my friend was acquainted. He began to talk about Leipnecher, and said the man was dangerously ill, but that his position was such that he could not safely certify to the impossibility of his attendance, and that he had consequently informed the President that Leipnecher might be brought into Court in a sedan chair, provided restoratives were allowed him and *no question were asked him*.

"I entered the Court, and after the other prisoners had taken their places a sedan chair was brought in, from which Antonio Leipnecher was led, or rather carried, in a state of mental and bodily prostration.

"Navarro opened the proceedings by calling upon the *Cancelliere* to read the *interrogatorio* of Antonio Leipnecher, and, when finished, called upon him for *his observations*. His lawyer said that he had already endeavoured to speak to him, but that he was unable

to answer or understand. Navarro then addressed him in a menacing tone, cautioning him that by shamming illness he was ruining his own cause. Leipnecher made some inaudible observations, which were repeated by another prisoner, to the effect that the doctors had not taken any pains to cure him. 'Oh!' said Navarro, 'write down that he says the doctors would not cure him.' The *Procuratore Generale*, Angelillo, then desired that the doctors might be again called in to give their opinion as to his present state, which they did in an hour, and reported him suffering from an acute fever and unable to remain. 'But,' said Angelillo, 'as he is here, why can he not remain?' 'He cannot,' said the doctors, 'without immediate danger to his life.' The Court then broke up, and when it again met in the course of two or three days Leipnecher was in his grave."

But I know that, after what I have said of the Grand Criminal Court of Naples, I must have stirred up incredulity in the breast of any one accustomed to perceive in the judges of a country the very highest impersonation of the principles of honour and dispassionate equity. I do not then intend to urge that the judges of Naples are all monsters, but they are slaves. They are very numerous, very ill-paid, and they hold their offices during pleasure. They are in general of far less eminence and weight, and of a lower moral standard, than the higher members of the Bar who plead before them. The highest salary of any person on the bench of judges is, I believe, 4000 ducats a year. Perhaps the eight judges who are now trying political prisoners by the hundred in Naples, may have among the salary of one

English Puisne Judge. But the main element in the case is, the tyrannical severity with which they are treated in case of their defeating the accusations brought by Government. Not, indeed, that acquittal in all cases signifies much. As the Government arrest and imprison without any warrant, or any charge; so, on the same broad and cherished principle of illegality, they think nothing of keeping men in prison after they have been first punished by some two or three years of imprisonment and terror, and then solemnly declared guiltless. For example, out of the forty-one* prisoners (reduced from forty-two by the death of Leipnecher) whose cases were finally disposed of by the sentences of last February, six, I think, were acquitted; and the last I heard of those six persons, some time after their acquittal, was, that they were all still in prison! Under these circumstances, it will perhaps excite no surprise that the judges escaped with impunity, in consideration of their having condemned thirty-five to punishments for the most part awfully severe. But woe be to the judges themselves if they balk the main object of a prosecution. In Naples itself, I understand that a gentleman of eighty years of age, who had exercised the office of judge for half a century, was turned out upon the world a short time ago, for having acquitted the parties charged with having composed or published an obnoxious article in a newspaper. A more notorious case has recently happened at Reggio. A batch of prisoners were there brought to trial for some matter connected with the period of the ill-fated Constitution.

* This number, I think, should be forty: the number acquitted, six; number condemned, thirty-two. NOTE, July 11, 1851.

They were acquitted; and the arm of vengeance descended upon the judges. After such an outrage on their part, the entire Court, as if an Augean stable, was swept clear. Two, I believe—probably the docile minority—had only a nominal deprivation, being classed as *disponibili*, and held qualified for new appointments, which, for all I know, they may now have received. But six judges, the offending majority, were mercilessly and absolutely dismissed. How can we be surprised that, with this perfection of discipline, the word of command should even by judges be readily obeyed?

Three of the forty-one prisoners in what I may call the Poerio case were condemned to death—Settembrini, Agresti, and Faucitano. Poerio himself was condemned to twenty-four years of irons. I believe the vote on him was as follows:—Three judges for acquittal; two for irons; three (including the delicate, scrupulous, and impartial mind of Navarro) for DEATH—on that testimony of Jervolino, which I have sufficiently described. The two latter sections then joined in voting for the lighter punishment, and thus the majority was obtained, one vote having been at first drawn off from the side of acquittal by the bullying process to which I have before referred, and which was fitly intrusted to the delicate, scrupulous, impartial, and generous Navarro.

A strange error is stated to have occurred. It seems that the Neapolitan law humanely provides, that when three persons are found guilty capitally, the sentence can be pronounced only on one; but that ~~this was forgotten~~ by the judges, and only found out ~~meral~~, or some other party, after

they thought they had finished. I have even heard it stated that Settembrini and Agresti received, as of mercy, a reprieve, to which they were entitled as of right. As to Faucitano, I will not enter into details of what occurred at Caserta in the palace, but I have heard them, and minutely too; and there appears to me too good reason to believe that the threat of the withdrawal of certain useful support from the Government of Naples, and not humanity, dictated, at the last moment, the commutation of his punishment.

Now there is no doubt that the infliction of capital punishment, under judicial sentences, is extremely rare in the kingdom of Naples; but whatever capital punishment may be in other points of view, I do not hesitate to say it would be a refined humanity, in respect to the amount of suffering which it inflicts, in whatever form, through the agency of man, as compared with that which is actually undergone in sentences of imprisonment. Yet even on the severity of these sentences I would not endeavour to fix attention so much as to draw it off from the great fact of illegality, which seems to me to be the foundation of the Neapolitan system: illegality, the fountain-head of cruelty and baseness, and every other vice; illegality which gives a bad conscience, that bad conscience creates fears, those fears lead to tyranny, that tyranny begets resentment, that resentment creates true causes of fear where they were not before; and thus fear is quickened and enhanced, the original vice multiplies itself with fearful speed, and old crime engenders a necessity for new.

I have spoken of Settembrini and his ~~reputed and~~ *too credible* torture; I come now to what I ha

seen, or heard on the most direct and unquestionable authority.

In February last, Poerio and sixteen of the co-accused (with few of whom, however, he had had any previous acquaintance) were confined in the *Bagno* of Nisida near the Lazaretto. For one half-hour in the week, a little prolonged by the leniency of the superintendent, they were allowed to see their friends outside the prison. This was their sole view of the natural beauties with which they were surrounded. At other times they were exclusively within the walls. The whole number of them, except I think one, then in the infirmary, were confined, 'night and day, in a single room of about sixteen palms in length by ten or twelve in breadth, and about ten in height; I think with some small yard for exercise. Something like a fifth must be taken off these numbers to convert palms into feet. When the beds were let down at night, there was no space whatever between them; they could only get out at the foot, and, being chained two and two, only in pairs. In this room they had to cook or prepare what was sent them by the kindness of their friends. On one side, the level of the ground is over the top of the room; it therefore reeked with damp, and from this, tried with long confinement, they declared they suffered greatly. There was one window—of course unglazed—and let not an Englishman suppose that this constant access of the air in the Neapolitan climate is agreeable or innocuous; on the contrary, it is even more important to health there than here to have the means of excluding the open air, for example, before and at sunset. Vicissitude of
in, is quite as much felt there as

here, and the early morning is sometimes bitterly cold.

Their chains were as follows. Each man wears a strong leather girth round him above the hips. To this are secured the upper ends of two chains. One chain of four long and heavy links descends to a kind of double ring fixed round the ankle. The second chain consists of eight links, each of the same weight and length with the four, and this unites the two prisoners together, so that they can stand about six feet apart. Neither of these chains is ever undone day or night. The dress of common felons, which, as well as the felon's cap, was there worn by the late cabinet-minister of King Ferdinand of Naples, is composed of a rough and coarse red jacket, with trowsers of the same material—very like the cloth made in this country from what is called devil's dust; the trowsers are nearly black in colour. On his head he had a small cap, which makes up the suit; it is of the same material. The trowsers button all the way up, that they may be removed at night without disturbing the chains.

The weight of these chains, I understand, is about eight rotoli, or between sixteen and seventeen English pounds for the shorter one, which must be doubled when we give each prisoner his half of the longer one. The prisoners had a heavy limping movement, much as if one leg had been shorter than the other. But the refinement of suffering in this case arises from the circumstance that here we have men of education and high feeling chained incessantly together. *For no purpose* are these chains undone; and the *mean*

ing of these last words must be well considered: they are to be taken strictly.

Well, it may be thought, the practice is barbarous, and ought not to prevail; still, as it does prevail, it might be difficult to exempt these persons, although gentlemen, from it. But this, my Lord, is not the true explanation. On the contrary, it was for the sake of these very gentlemen that the practice of chaining two and two was introduced into the *Bagno* of Nisida. I was assured that two or three weeks before, among eight hundred prisoners in that *bagno* (which to the passer-by looks hardly bigger than a martello tower) these double irons were totally unknown; and there were many political offenders then there, but they were men of the lower class, to whom this kind of punishment would have been but a slight addition. But just about the time when Poerio and his companions were sent to Nisida, an order came from Prince Luigi, the brother of the King, who, as Admiral, has charge of the island, ordering that double irons should be used for those who had been brought into the prison since a certain rather recent date—I think July 22, 1850. Thus it was contrived to have them put on Poerio and his friends, and yet to have a plea, such as it is, for saying that the measure was not adopted with a view to their case, and to the extreme moral (as well as the not slight physical) suffering which it would secure for them. Among these, as I have already said, had been chained together the informer Margherita and one of his victims. Among these, I myself saw a political prisoner, Romeo, chained in the manner I have described, to an ordinary offender, a young man with one of the most ferocious

and sullen countenances I have seen among many hundreds of the Neapolitan criminals.

The inspector of this prison, General Palomba, had, I was informed, never, or not for a very long time, visited it. But he had come just before I was there; and it is impossible to avoid the inference that he came in order to make certain that the orders for increased severity were not evaded or relaxed.

I had heard that the political offenders were obliged to have their heads shaved; but this had not been done, though they had been obliged to shave away any beard they might have had.

I must say I was astonished at the mildness with which they spoke of those at whose hands they were enduring these abominable persecutions, and at their Christian resignation as well as their forgiving temper, for they seemed ready to undergo with cheerfulness whatever might yet be in store for them. Their health was evidently suffering. I saw the aunt of one of these prisoners, a man of about eight and twenty, weep when she spoke of his altered looks, and of the youthful colour but a few weeks before in his cheeks. I should have taken him for forty. I had seen Poerio in December, during his trial; but I should not have known him at Nisida. He did not expect his own health to stand, although God, he said, had given him strength to endure. It was suggested to him from an authoritative quarter, that his mother, of whom he was the only prop, might be sent to the King to implore his pardon, or he might himself apply for it. He steadily refused. That mother, when I was at Naples, was losing her mental powers under the pressure of her afflictions. It seemed as if God, **more**

sionate than her fellow-creatures, were taking them away in mercy, for she had, amidst her sorrow, trances and visions of repose; she told a young physician, known to me, that she had been seeing her son, and with him another person. The two were in different gaols, and she had seen neither.

Since I have left Naples, Poerio has sunk to a lower depth of calamity. He has been taken, I understand, from Nisida to Ischia, farther from public interest, and perhaps to some abode like the Maschio of Porcari. What I saw was quite enough. Never before have I conversed, and never probably shall I converse again, with a cultivated and accomplished gentleman, of whose innocence, obedience to law, and love of his country I was as firmly and as rationally assured as of your Lordship's or that of any other man of the very highest character, whilst he stood before me amidst surrounding felons, and clad in the vile uniform of guilt and shame. But he is now gone where he will scarcely have the opportunity even of such conversation. I cannot honestly suppress my conviction, that the object in the case of Poerio, as a man of mental power sufficient to be feared, is to obtain the scaffold's aim by means more cruel than the scaffold, and without the outcry which the scaffold would create.

It is time for me to draw to a close. I might, indeed, detail circumstances to show that language is used by the highest authority in Naples, demonstrating that attachment to the Constitution, that is the fundamental law of the State, is there regarded and punished as a crime; and again, to show that men, ay, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, are confessedly detained

in prison there, not because they have committed crime, not because they are even suspected of it, but because it is thought that through their means may possibly be obtained, at some future time, some imaginable information tending to inculpate somebody else. But I will wind up this repulsive narration, with noticing a circumstance that too clearly shows what value is placed by those in power at Naples upon human life as such.

I have spoken of the Neapolitan prisons. It appears that, not long ago, exasperated by the treatment they received, the inmates of the State prison of Procida revolted, and endeavoured to gain possession of the prison. The mode of quelling this revolt was as follows. The soldiers in charge of them threw hand-grenades among them, and killed them to the number of one hundred and seventy-five. In this number were included seventeen invalids in the infirmary, who had no part in the revolt. I have been told that, for perpetrating this massacre, the serjeant who commanded the troops was decorated with, and may now be seen wearing, a military order. I refer to this incident without forgetting that a revolt or riot in a prison is a formidable thing, and requires strong measures; but with the overwhelming force everywhere at the command of the Executive power, and with the mild character of Neapolitans, even as criminals, taken into view, no one will believe that there was the slightest call for this wholesale slaughter.

Enough, it seems to me, has now been said to show that there are the strongest reasons for believing that, under the veil of secrecy, which covers the *proceedings* of the Government of Naples, **there lie**

hid the gigantic horrors, to which I have alluded as afflicting that country, desolating the entire classes upon which the life and growth of the nation depend, undermining the foundation of all civil rule, and preparing the way for violent revolution by converting the Power, which is set up in human societies to maintain law and order, and to defend innocence and punish crime, into the grand law-breaker and malefactor of the country; the first in rank among oppressors, the deadly enemy of freedom and intelligence, and the active fomentor and instigator of the vilest corruption among the people.

While I speak thus freely and strongly of the acts of the Neapolitan Government, I have deliberately refrained (with the exception of certain clear cases) from any attempt to point out the agents, or to distribute or fix the responsibility. Beyond the limits I have named I know not, and have not the desire to know, to whom it belongs. I am aware that, although the Sovereign be the effective governor of the country, an impenetrable veil may pass between his eyes and the actual system of means by which this main department of his Government is worked; I know it to be the belief of some persons that this is actually the case; I must add that I am acquainted with an instance of a direct and unceremonious appeal to the King's humanity, which met with a response on his part evidently sincere; although, according to the latest accounts I have received, his intentions have as yet been thwarted by other influences, and have not taken practical effect.

And now, my dear Lord, I conclude, as I began, with expressing my gratitude to you for allowing me,

to place this letter in your hands. But for this permission, I might have found myself wholly without the means of putting any such engine into operation as would offer me the least hope of quietly producing a salutary effect upon the proceedings of the Neapolitan Government. I took leave, indeed, of Naples with a fixed resolution to strain every nerve for effecting that purpose, and for effecting it with promptitude. But I am very sensible of the hazards attending any appeal to the public opinion of this and other countries, and how such an appeal, if strong enough to be effective, must also be so strong as to run some risk of quickening the action of the elements of social and political disorder. I freely own that my sense of the actual evils pressing upon the Neapolitan people, of the other and opposite evils which these are rapidly engendering, and of the obligations arising out of the whole, is so deep and so intense, that I must, but for the expectation of some prompt and marked signs of improvement, to be brought about through the channels which your just personal weight will, as I trust, open for me, have at once encountered the hazards of publicity, whatever they might be, as I might still, in contingencies I am unwilling to contemplate, be compelled to encounter them.

But this I must add. Into some one or more particulars of the statements I have made, error of form, and even error of fact, may have crept. I am prepared for the possibility, that if those statements should in any manner reach the persons whose conduct they principally concern, they may be met with **general denial**, and that denial may even be supported and **accredited** with some instance or instances of **apparent**,

may, possibly of real confutation. I now state that I cannot and shall not entail upon your Lordship the charge of handing to and fro replications and rejoinders. I will not discuss the correctness of my statements with those who alone are likely to impugn them, because I cannot do it upon equal terms. First, inasmuch as in Naples secrecy is the almost universal rule of the proceedings of Government, and the perfect servitude of the press cuts off the means of sifting controverted matter, and thus the ordinary avenues to truth. Secondly, because my entering upon such details would infallibly cause unjust suspicion to light upon individuals, and would thus at once give rise to further persecutions. Thirdly, and even most of all, because I am so entirely certain of the accuracy of my statements in the general picture they present, and the general results to which they lead, as to feel that they are beyond *bonâ fide* dispute, and that to engage in any such dispute would be to postpone, perhaps indefinitely, the attainment of the practical ends which I propose to myself the hope of gaining. I have the less scruple in attaching my own credit to them, because I am convinced that as a whole, they are within the truth. Not in one word or syllable, of course, have I consciously heightened the colouring of the case beyond the facts: I have omitted much, which even my short residence in Naples forced upon my knowledge; I have endeavoured to avoid multiplicity of detail, and have referred particularly to the case of Poerio, not because I have the slightest reason to believe it more cruel or wicked than others, but because I was able to follow it somewhat better through its particulars; and because it is one which will more

readily than most others attract interest out of his own country. *Crimine ab uno disce omnes*. It is time that either the veil should be lifted from scenes fitter for hell than earth, or some considerable mitigation should be voluntarily adopted. I have undertaken this wearisome and painful task, in the hope of doing something to diminish a mass of human suffering as huge, I believe, and as acute, to say the least, as any that the eye of Heaven beholds. This may, as I fondly trust, be effected, through your Lordship's aid, on the one hand without elusion or delay, on the other without the mischiefs and inconveniences which I am fully sensible might, nay in some degree must, attend the process, were I thrown back on my own unaided resources.

I remain, my dear Lord Aberdeen,

Most sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.,
&c. &c. &c.

LETTER II

MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,

THE letter, of which this contains the sequel, was of a personal and private nature; and was addressed to you with the ardent and even sanguine hope, that it need never have to bear any other character. I had such a conviction of the general truth and strength of the statements it contained, and of the extreme urgency of the case, and I knew so well, as indeed all men

know, the just weight attaching to your Lordship's name, even while you act in a personal and private capacity alone, that when at my request you consented to make my representations known in those quarters to which it appeared most desirable to resort, my mind was disburdened of a heavy weight, and I cheerfully anticipated some such practical consequences as, even if small in themselves, might, notwithstanding, by their character, have encouraged and justified a patient waiting for more considerable results from farther and more mature deliberation.

It was in itself a thing so reasonable, that private representation and remonstrance should in the first instance be attempted, that I cannot regret the course that was taken, though it entailed the serious delays required for your own mature consideration of the case, and for making it known in those other spheres to which I have referred. But the manner in which it had been received in the quarter directly affected by my allegations, had entirely convinced me that it would not be warrantable to trust any longer in this case to the force of mere expostulation, before, driven from the definite hopes which I had founded upon your assistance, I committed my first letter to the press. I wish, however, to make it clearly understood, that I am alone responsible for that proceeding.

I have felt it, then, my bounden duty to remit my statements by publication to the bar of general opinion — of that opinion which circulates throughout Europe with a facility and force increasing from year to year, and which, however in some things it may fall short or in *others* exceed, is, so far at least, impregnated

with the spirit of the Gospel, that its accents are ever favourable to the diminution of human suffering.

To have looked for any modification whatever of the reactionary policy of a government, in connection with a moving cause so trivial as any sentiments or experience of mine, may be thought presumptuous or chimerical. What claim, it may be asked, had I, one among thousands of mere travellers, upon the Neapolitan Government? The deliberations which fix the policy of States, especially of absolute States, must be presumed to have been laborious and solid in some proportion to their immense, their terrific power over the practical destinies of mankind; and they ought not to be unsettled at a moment's notice in deference to the wishes or the impressions of insignificant, or adversely prepossessed, or at best irresponsible individuals.

My answer is short. On the Government of Naples I had no claim whatever; but as a man I felt and knew it to be my duty to testify to what I had credibly heard, or personally seen, of the needless and acute sufferings of men. Yet, aware that such testimony, when once launched, is liable to be used for purposes neither intended nor desired by those who bear it, and that in times of irritability and misgiving, such as these are on the Continent of Europe, slight causes may occasionally produce, or may tend and aid to produce, effects less inconsiderable, I willingly postponed any public appeal until the case should have been seen in private by those whose conduct it principally touched. It has been so seen. They have made their option; and while I reluctantly accept the consequences, their failing to meet it by any practical

improvement will never be urged by me as constituting an aggravation of their previous responsibilities.

It may, again, disappoint some persons that I should now simply appear in my personal capacity through the press, instead of inviting to this grave and painful question the attention of that House of Parliament to which I have the honour to belong. To such I would say, that I have advisedly abstained from mixing up my statements with any British agencies or influences which are official, diplomatic, or political. I might indeed, by thus associating them with the interests of parties or individuals, have obtained for them an increased amount of favourable attention; but I might on the other hand have arrayed against my representations, and against what I believe to be the sacred purposes of humanity, the jealousies of those connected with other European States; and, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies itself, those laudable sentiments of national independence, which lie at the root of patriotism. I should in effect have caused, if not made, a fundamental misrepresentation of the whole case. The claims, the interests, which I have in view are not those of England. Either they are wholly null and valueless, or they are broad as the extension of the human race, and long-lived as its duration. It might, indeed, be better to obtain some partial redress of these grievances through the political influence and power of this country, than to remain wholly without it: but I am so deeply sensible of the evils attendant, under the circumstances of the case, upon that mode of proceeding, and upon its tendency to multiply the number and enhance the force of obstructive and even counteracting causes, that I deliberately abstain from

appealing to the generous sympathies, with which I am certain the British Parliament would meet the statement of such a case; and if the case shall penetrate within those precincts it will be by no agency, encouragement, or assent of mine.

Upon reviewing and reconsidering the terms of the letter addressed by me to your Lordship, on the 7th of April, I find in them a warmth which may be open to criticism, but which then appeared, and still appears, to me to be generally justified by the circumstances of the case. I find a great variety of allegations which will excite horror and indignation in some, incredulity in others, surprise in most: but which few will pass by with indifference. I find these strong statements made with the avowal on my part, that there are many of them which it has been impossible for me to verify with precision in their detail; because the ordinary sources of information are closed; because statements when received cannot, at Naples, be subjected to the test of free discussion; and because the supposition once entertained against a Neapolitan that he conveyed to any one, especially to an Englishman (perhaps I might add especially, even as among Englishmen, to myself), ideas or intelligence unfavourable to the Government, would have marked him out as the object of the spy and the victim of the informer. I stand now, as I stood then, upon the conviction that my general representation is not too highly charged; upon the consciousness that I have done all that could be done to attain to accuracy in detail; upon the fact that perhaps the most disgraceful circumstances are those which rest upon public notoriety, or upon my own *personal* knowledge; and upon the assurance I have

too good reason to entertain, that any attempt on my part to confer habitually with Neapolitan subjects, or to conduct any regular search for information through their means, or any indication, direct or indirect, of any individuals among them as the source from which I have derived my knowledge and impressions, would be fatal to their personal liberty and happiness.

But I do not stand upon these grounds alone. My assurance of the general truth of my representations has been heightened, my fears of any material error in detail have been diminished, since the date of my first letter, by the negative but powerful evidence of the manner in which they have been met. Writing in July, I have as yet no qualification worth naming to append to the allegations which I first put into shape in April. I am indeed aware, that my opinion with respect to the number of political prisoners in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies has been met by an assertion, purporting to be founded on returns, that instead of twenty thousand they are about two thousand. Even this number has not always been admitted; for I recollect that in November last they were stated to me, by an Englishman of high honour and in close communication with the Court, to be less than one thousand. I have carefully pointed out, that my statement is one founded on opinion: on reasonable opinion as I think, but upon opinion still. Let the Neapolitan Government have the full benefit of the contradiction I have mentioned. To me it would be a great relief, if I could honestly say it at once commanded my credence. The readers of my letters will not be surprised at my hesitation to admit it. But this I would add: ~~the~~ ~~number~~ of political pri-

soners is in my view, like the state of the prisons, *in itself*, a secondary feature of the case. If they are fairly and legally arrested, fairly and legally treated before trial, fairly and legally tried, that is the main matter. Where fairness and legality preside over the proceedings, we need have no great fear about an undue number of prisoners. But my main charges go to show that there is gross illegality and gross unfairness in the proceedings; and it is only in connection with the proof of this, that the number of prisoners and the state of the prisons come to be matters of such importance.

It will have been remarked in my former letter that I have spoken of what I myself saw in the Neapolitan prisons, and even in a few cases of what I heard from prisoners. I think it necessary to state the motive which led me to seek entrance there. It was not an idle curiosity, but an impression of the duty incumbent upon me to be an eye-witness, so far as was in my power, to the facts, before deciding upon any ulterior step. It is likewise a sacred obligation that I should state that those unfortunate persons are in no sense or degree responsible for my having visited their melancholy abodes, nor were they in any manner privy or auxiliary to it, or to anything I have said or done, before or subsequently. If they have since been subjected, as has been reported to me, to an increase of suffering and hardship, that increase can derive no justification from any such act or knowledge of theirs. It is right too for me to add that, when I refer to their views or statements concerning the trials, I simply quote from printed records which I obtained without their aid or knowledge. If a mea-

sure taken by me simply and solely to get at the truth; by the only means which were open to me, should have resulted in the aggravation of the condition of innocent men, it does but afford another proof of the miserable tendency of tyranny, like every other evil, to multiply and reproduce itself. We call necessity the tyrant's plea, and such it is; but it is not a plea only, it is a reason: it is a hard and cruel task-mistress; and the wilful abuse of our high faculty of choice for the purposes of evil, soon brings about a state of things in which common volition is well nigh superseded, and a resolution almost heroic is required to arrest the fatal course.

I do not intend to add to the statements of fact contained in my last letter, though they are but a portion, and not always the most striking portion, of those which I might have produced. One reason of this is, that they are, as I think, sufficient for their purpose; and another, that by a different course I should probably put in jeopardy, not indeed the persons who made them to me, but those whom the agents of the police might suppose, or might find it convenient to pretend that they supposed, to have so made them.

My chief purpose at present is, to sustain the general probability of my statements, by a reference to unquestionable facts, which have occurred both in other parts of Italy and in Naples itself; facts such as exhibit a state of things to us most difficult to believe or even to apprehend, but there, alas! too familiar and too true.

That my statements

the first

instance with incredulity, can cause me no dissatisfaction. Nay, more: I think that, for the honour of human nature, statements of such a kind ought to be so received. Men ought to be slow to believe that such things can happen, and happen in a Christian country, the seat of almost the oldest European civilization. They ought to be disposed rather to set down my assertions to fanaticism or folly on my part, than to believe them as an over true tale of the actual proceedings of a settled government. But though they ought to be thus disposed at the outset, they will not, I trust, bar their minds to the entrance of the light, however painful be the objects it may disclose. I have myself felt that incredulity, and wish I could have felt it still; but it has yielded to conviction step by step, and with fresh pain at every fresh access of evidence. I proceed accordingly to bring the reader's mind, so far as I am able, under the process through which my own has passed, and to state some characteristic facts, which may convey more faithfully than abstract description an idea of the political atmosphere of Italy.

For example, I have within the last few lines spoken of the Neapolitan police in such a manner as I should be sorry to apply in most countries to those classes which a police, according to our notions, is appointed specially to coerce. Among ourselves the police constable is, as such, the object of general respect; tradition suggests, and the conduct of the body confirms, this feeling; nor have we at present a word in use to describe the character, which conveys any unfavourable idea. But in the Italian tongue he is a *sbirro* or a *sgherro*, words which carry the united idea of degradation in the person described, and loathing

in those who utter them: words, too, which it is impossible to render perfectly into English. And now, having spoken of the way in which others think of them, let us give a specimen of the manner in which the Italian police officer estimates himself. I take my example from Lombardy; yet I am very far from implying that the police of that country has sunk to the level of the corresponding class in Naples.

There was lately a well-known officer of police in Milan, named Bolza. In the time of the Revolution of 1848 the private notes of the Government on the character of its agents were discovered. Bolza is there described as a person harsh, insincere, anything but respectable, venal, a fanatical Napoleonist until 1815, then an Austrian partizan of equal heat, "and to-morrow a Turk, were Soliman to enter upon these States;" capable of anything for money's sake against either friend or foe. Still, as the memorandum continues, "he understands his business, and is right good at it. Nothing is known of his morals, or of his religion." But a work published at Lugano contains his last will, and this curious document testifies to the acute sense which even such a man retained of his own degradation. "I absolutely forbid my heirs," he says, "to allow any mark, of whatever kind, to be placed over the spot where I shall be interred: much more any inscription or epitaph. I recommend my dearly beloved wife to impress upon my children the maxim that, when they shall be in a condition to solicit an employment from the generosity of the Government, they are to ask for it elsewhere than in the department of the executive police; ~~and~~ under extraordinary circumstances to the

marriage of any of my daughters with a member of that service."*

I shall next name two facts which are related by Farini, the recent and esteemed writer of a History of the States of the Church since 1815:—"There exists a confidential circular of Cardinal Bernetti, in which he orders the Judges, in the case of Liberals charged with ordinary offences or crimes, invariably to inflict the highest degree of punishment."**

Bernetti was not an Austrian partizan; it is alleged that he was supplanted (early in the reign of Gregory XVI.) through Austrian influence. His favourite idea was the entire independence of the Pontifical State; and therefore the circular to which I have referred is purely Italian.

This was under Gregory XVI. Under Leo XII., Cardinal Rivarola went as legate *à latere* into Romagna. On the 31st of August 1825, he pronounced sentence on five hundred and eight persons. Seven of these were to suffer death. Forty-nine were to undergo hard labour for terms varying between ten years and life. Fifty-two were to be imprisoned for similar terms. These sentences were pronounced privately, at the simple will of the Cardinal, upon mere presumptions that the parties belonged to the liberal sects; and what is to the ear of an Englishman the most astounding fact of all, after a process simply analogous to that of a Grand Jury (I compare the process, not the person), and without any opportunity given to the accused for defence!***

* Gualterio, *Gli ultimi Rivolgimenti Italiani*, vol. 1. p. 43^r, *note*.

** Farini, *Lo Stato Romano*, vol. 1. p. 77, book 1. chap. v., *note*.

*** *Ibid.* chap. 11.

delivered on the 15th of April 1848, says,—“The sovereign has shown himself neither obstinately tenacious, nor precipitately pliable. He procrastinated, nay repelled, until it was demonstrated that the demand proceeded from the universal desire of a people, and not from the isolated assumptions of a party; he deigned to accede with joy, when it was still in his power to resist: thus it plainly appeared, that he took the step not through violence or from apprehension, but of his own free and sagacious will.”*

On the 15th of May came the struggle, of which the origin is described in the most opposite colours by persons of opposite sentiments. It ended, however, in the unquestionable and complete victory of the King and the troops: and I will now quote the words in which the triumphant monarch reiterates his assurances in regard to the Constitution:—

“NEAPOLITANS!

“PROFOUNDLY afflicted by the horrible calamity of the 15th of May, Our most lively desire is to mitigate, as far as possible, its consequences. It is Our most fixed and irrevocable will to maintain the Constitution of the 10th of February, pure and free from the stain of all excess. As it is the only one compatible with the true and immediate wants of this portion of Italy, so it will be the sacrosanct altar, upon which must rest the destinies of Our most beloved people and of Our crown.

“Resume, then, all your customary occupations: confide with the utmost fulness of your hearts in Our good faith, in Our sense of religion, and in Our sacred and spontaneous oath.”**

I now proceed to give extracts from this Constitution. It opens thus: and I request particular attention to its very solemn preamble:—

* Napoli e la Costituzione, Stamperia del Fibreno, Strada Trinità Maggiore, No. 26, 1848.

** Farini, book III. chap. VIII.

“With reference to Our Sovereign Act of the 29th of January 1848, by which, concurring with the unanimous desire of Our most beloved subjects, We have promised, of Our own full, free, and spontaneous will, to establish in this kingdom a Constitution, conformable to the civilization of the times, whereof we then indicated, by a few rapid strokes, the fundamental bases, and reserved our ratification of it till it should be set out and arranged in its principles, according to the draft which Our present Ministry of State was to submit to Us within ten days’ time ;

“Determined to give immediate effect to this fixed resolution of our mind ;

“In the awful Name of the Most Holy and Almighty God, the Trinity in Unity, to whom alone it appertains to read the depths of the heart, and whom We loudly invoke as the judge of the simplicity of Our intentions, and of the unreserved sincerity with which We have determined to enter upon the paths of the new political order ;

“Having heard with mature deliberation Our Council of State ;

“We have decided upon proclaiming, and We do proclaim, as irrevocably ratified by Us, the following Constitution.”

Then follow the particular provisions, of which I need only cite four for the present purpose:—

“Art. I. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies shall be from henceforward subject to a limited, hereditary, constitutional monarchy, under representative forms.

“Art. IV. The legislative power resides jointly in the King, and in a National Parliament, consisting of two Chambers, the one of Peers, the other of Deputies.

“Art. XIV. No description of impost can be decreed, except in virtue of a law: communal imposts included.

“Art. XXIV. Personal liberty is guaranteed. No one can be arrested, except in virtue of an instrument proceeding in due form of law from the proper authority; the case of flagrancy, or quasi-flagrancy, excepted. In the case of arrest by way of prevention, the accused must be handed over to the proper authority within the terms at farthest of twenty-four hours, within which also the grounds of his arrest must be declared to him.”*

* La Costituzione politica del Regno di Napoli, presso Gaetano Nobile, Strada Toledo, No. 166, 1849.

Those who wish for detail may consult the histories of these events: * I shall only sketch the actual state of things.

In regard to Article I.; the monarchy of Naples is perfectly absolute and unlimited.

In regard to Article IV.; there exists no Chamber of Peers or Chamber of Deputies.

In regard to Article XIV.; all the taxes are imposed and levied under royal authority alone.

In regard to Article XXIV.; persons were arrested by the hundred, while I was in Naples, a little before last Christmas, without any legal warrant whatever, and without the slightest pretext of flagrancy or quasi-flagrancy: they were not handed over to the competent authority within twenty-four hours, or even at all, and were detained in the most rigorous confinement by the police, without any reference whatever to the Courts, and without any communication to them whatever of the grounds of their arrest.

Such is the state of facts in respect to the origin of the Neapolitan Constitution, to its terms, and to the present actual conduct of the Government of the country, in contradiction and in defiance, at every point, of its indisputable fundamental law.

It will be too clearly seen how such a relation between the law of a country and the acts—not the occasional, but the constant and most essential acts of its Government—throw light upon the distressing, and at first sight scarcely credible, allegations of my first letter.

But I have yet another source of evidence which I am bound to open: one which illustrates, in a form

* Such as Massari's *Casi di Napoli*, Torino, 1849. Massari is an ex-deputy.

the most painful and revolting, the completeness, the continuity, the perfect organization of the system which I have thought it my duty to endeavour, according to my limited ability, to expose and to denounce.

I need hardly observe, that in the kingdom of Naples both the press, and the education of the people, are under the control of the Government: and that, setting aside the question how far points of conflicting interest with the Church may be an exception, nothing is taught or printed there, unless with its sanction, and according to its mind.

I am going to refer to, and quote from a work, one of the most singular and detestable that I have ever seen. It is called the *Catechismo Filosofico, per uso delle Scuole Inferiori*: and the motto is, "*Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam.*" I have two editions of it; one bearing as follows: *Napoli, presso Raffaele Miranda, Largo delle Pigne, No. 60. 1850.* The other is part of a series called "*Collezione di buoni Libri a favore della Verità e della Virtù. Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico di A. Festa, Strada Carbonara, No. 104. 1850.*" I am thus particular, because I feel that if I were not so, I might now once more raise the smile of a not irrational incredulity.

The doctrine of the first chapter is, that a true philosophy must nowadays be taught to the young, in order to counteract the false philosophy of the liberals, which is taught by certain vicious and bad men, desirous to make others vicious and bad like themselves. The notes of these liberal philosophers are then enumerated: and one of them is "disapproval of the vigorous acts of the legitimate authorities." They produce, it is taught, all mst

specially the eternal

damnation of souls. The pupil then asks with great simplicity of his teacher, not whether all liberals are wicked, but "whether they are all wicked in one and the same fashion?" And the answer is—

"Not all, my child, because some are thorough-paced and wilful deceivers, while others are piteously deceived: but notwithstanding, they are all travelling the same road; and if they do not alter their course, they will all arrive at the same goal."

The plain meaning, as I read it, is, that those who hold what in Naples are called liberal opinions (and many who are included in the name there, would not be so designated here), even in the more innocent form of the mere victims of deceit, will, unless they abandon them, be lost eternally on account of those opinions.

The next question of the scholar is, whether all who wear moustaches or a beard are liberal philosophers!

In subsequent chapters the scholar is instructed in the true nature of Sovereign power. The author plainly denies all obligation to obey the laws in a democracy: for he says it would be essentially absurd, that the governing power should reside in the governed; and therefore God would never give it them. In the United States, accordingly, there would be no Sovereign power. Thus is the most revolutionary and anarchical doctrine propagated under the pretexts of loyalty and religion.

The Sovereign power, we are here taught, is not only Divine (which I shall never quarrel with an author for asserting), but unlimited; and not only *unlimited in fact*, but unlimited from its own nature.

reason of its Divine origin. And now we come near the gist of the whole book, for the sake of which it is that Philosophy has been brought down by the Neapolitan sages from high heaven to the level of "inferior schools." This power, of course, cannot be limited by the people, for their duty is simply to obey it:—

"*Scholar.*—Can the people of itself establish fundamental laws in a State?

"*Master.*—No: because a Constitution, or fundamental laws, are of necessity a limitation of the Sovereignty: and this can never receive any measure or boundary except by its own act: otherwise it would no longer constitute that highest and paramount power, ordained of God for the well-being of society."*

And now I shall continue to translate: the whole matter will repay perusal, and it will be seen that the express and not mistakeable features of the Neapolitan case are carefully described and fully met in the abominable doctrines here inculcated:

"*S.*—If the people, in the very act of electing a Sovereign, shall have imposed upon him certain conditions and certain reservations, will not these reservations and these conditions form the Constitution and the fundamental law of the State?

"*M.*—They will, provided the Sovereign shall have granted and ratified them freely. Otherwise they will not; because the people, which is made for submission and not for command, cannot impose a law upon the Sovereignty, which derives its power not from them, but from God.

"*S.*—Suppose that a Prince, in assuming the Sovereignty of a State, has accepted and ratified the Constitution, or fundamental law, of that State; and that he has promised OR SWORN to observe it; is he bound to keep that promise, and to maintain that Constitution and that law?

“*M.*—He is bound to keep it, provided it does not overthrow the foundations of Sovereignty: and *provided it is not opposed to the general interests of the State.*”

“*S.*—Why do you consider that a Prince is not bound to observe the Constitution, whenever this impugns the rights of Sovereignty?”

“*M.*—We have already found, that the Sovereignty is the highest and Supreme power, ordained and constituted by God in society, for the good of society; and this power, conceded and made needful by God, must be preserved inviolate and entire; and cannot be restrained or abated by man, without coming into conflict with the ordinances of nature, and with the Divine Will. Whenever, therefore, the people may have proposed a condition which impairs the Sovereignty, and whenever the Prince may have promised to observe it, that proposal is an absurdity, that promise is null; and the Prince is not bound to maintain a Constitution which is in opposition to the Divine command, but is bound to maintain entire and intact the supreme power established by God, and by God conferred on him.

“*S.*—And why do you consider that the Prince is not bound to maintain the Constitution, when he finds it to be contrary to the interests of the State?”

“*M.*—God has appointed the supreme power for the good of society. The first duty then, of the person who may have been invested with it, is the duty of promoting the good of society. If the fundamental law of the State be found adverse to the good of the State, and if the promise given by the Sovereign to observe that fundamental law would oblige him to promote what is detrimental to the State, that law becomes null, that promise void; because the general good is the object of all laws, and to promote that good is the main obligation of Sovereignty. Suppose a physician to have promised, AND SWORN, to his patient, that he would bleed him; should he become aware that such letting blood would be fatal, he is bound to abstain from doing it: because, paramount to all promises and oaths, there is the obligation of the physician to labour for the cure of his patient. In like manner, should the Sovereign find that the fundamental law is seriously hurtful to his people, he is bound to cancel it: because, in spite of all promises and all constitutions, the duty of the Sovereign is his people's weal. In a word, an OATH never can become an obligation to commit evil; and therefore cannot bind a Sovereign to do what is injurious

to his subjects. Besides, the head of the Church has authority from God to release consciences from oaths, when he judges that there is suitable cause for it."

And now comes the keystone of the arch which makes the whole fabric consistent and complete, with all the consistency and the completeness that can belong to fraud, falsehood, injustice, and impiety:—

"*S.*—Whose business is it to decide when the Constitution impairs the rights of Sovereignty, and is adverse to the welfare of the people?

"*M.*—It is the business of the Sovereign; because in him resides the high and paramount power, established by God in the State, with a view to its good order and felicity.

"*S.*—May there not be some danger, that the Sovereign may violate the Constitution without just cause, under the illusion of error, or the impulse of passion?

"*M.*—Errors and passions are the maladies of the human race; but the blessings of health ought not to be refused through the fear of sickness."

And so forth. I will not go through all the false, base and demoralizing doctrines, sometimes ludicrous, but oftener horrible, that I find studiously veiled under the phrases of religion in this abominable book: because I do not desire to produce merely a general stir and indignation in the mind, but with the indignation a clear and distinct, and, so far as may be, a dispassionate view, of that object which is its moving cause. I say, then, that here we have a complete systematized philosophy of perjury for monarchs, exactly adapted to the actual facts of Neapolitan history during the last three and a half years, published under the sanction, and inculcated by the authority, of a Government, which has indeed the best possible title.

to proclaim the precept, since it has shown itself a master in the practice.

This Catechism bears no name: but it is described to me as the work of an ecclesiastic whom I forbear to designate, since pointing him out is not necessary for my purpose: suffice it to say, he is, or was, at the head of the Commission of Public Instruction. He dedicates his production "to the Sovereigns, the Bishops, the Magistracy, the teachers of youth, and all the well disposed." In this dedicatory Address, he announces that the Sovereign authority will enjoin, that the elements of civil and political philosophy be taught in all the schools: and be taught, too, from this one single book, lest the purity of the doctrine should otherwise be corrupted: that the teachers are to be closely watched, lest they should neglect this duty, and that none of them are to have the annual renewal of their office, except upon proof of having observed it, that so "this book may be multiplied in a thousand shapes, and may circulate in the hands of all, and the Catechism of the philosopher may become the personal accomplishment of all the young, and may invariably follow close upon the Catechism of the Christian."

Of course, peculiar care is to be taken that no one shall make his way into holy orders without having imbibed this necessary knowledge.

"The Bishops will find means to circulate it in their seminaries, to prescribe it to their clerks, to recommend it to the parish priests, to cause it to become the food of the people, and to fix that in all examinations men shall be questioned upon the doctrines of political philosophy, just as they are questioned upon those of Christian belief and conduct, inasmuch as no one without being a good Christian and a good subject can be a good Christian!"

There is daring, if not grandeur, in this conception. A broken oath; an argument spun from laborious brains to show that the oath ought to be broken; a resolution to preoccupy all minds, in the time of their tender and waxen youth, and before the capacity of thought, with this argument: no more cunning plot ever was devised, at least by man, against the freedom, the happiness, the virtue, of mankind.

Here the author modestly ends with the declaration, "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God hath given the increase." And it is time for us to end also. We have thus seen Perjury, the daughter of Fraud, the mother of Cruelty and Violence, stalk abroad in a Christian kingdom under the sanction of its Government; and have heard her modestly make for herself a claim (which, as I am informed, has been fully allowed) that her laws shall be expounded in every school throughout the country, coincident in extension, and second only, if second, in dignity, to the Catechism of the Christian Faith. If we are to quote Scripture, here is my text—"Now for the comfortless troubles' sake of the needy, and because of the deep sighing of the poor; I will up, saith the Lord, and will help every one from him that swelleth against him, and will set him at rest." (Ps. XII. 5, 6.)

I have now done my best to supply the reader with the illustration and collateral evidence which seemed necessary in order to his forming a correct judgment upon the charges, so harsh and strange in sound, which I have been compelled to make against the present policy of the Government of Naples in regard to State prosecutions.

again I say, I have to look

but to such contradictions as are not subject to be verified, cross-examined, or exposed, I must decline to attend. Confutation, I am now convinced, except in small details, is impossible, with respect to my statements of fact. Would to God that that unhappy Government—and any other, if indeed there be any other, like it—may be wise in time, before outraged humanity shall turn on the oppressor, and the cup of Divine retribution overflow.

And would to God, on the other hand, that, if there shall be shown a disposition to purge out abomination and temper excess, and steadily and honestly, though, gradually, to bring about a better state of things, then, such a disposition may be met with forbearance and goodwill, with the chastening of too eager expectations, with full recollection of difficulties and allowance for them, and with an earnest readiness to forgive and to forget.

There are two possible inferences from what I have written, against which I must endeavour to guard. The first is this: some will say, all these abuses and disgraces are owing to the degradation of the people. I do not deny that there is some share of what we think degradation there; nor can it be wondered at, when we consider from what source the polluted waters of fraud and falsehood flow: but this I say, that the Neapolitans are over harshly judged in England. Even the populace of the capital is too severely estimated; the prevailing vices lie on the surface, and meet the eye of every one; but we scarcely give them the credit they deserve for their mildness, their simplicity, their trustfulness, their warm affection, *their ready anxiety to oblige, their freedom from the*

grosser forms of crime. What will be said in England, when I mention, upon authority which ought to be decisive, that during four months of the Constitution, when the action of the police too was much paralysed, there was not a single case of any of the more serious crimes in Naples among four hundred thousand people?

We do a fresh injustice when we extend to the various classes of the community, and to the inhabitants of all the provinces, the estimate too hastily formed even of the populace of Naples. Perhaps the point in which they are most defective is that of practical energy and steady perseverance in giving effect to the ideas, with which their high natural intelligence abundantly supplies them. But, while they seem to me most amiable for their gentleness of tone, and for their freedom from sullenness and pride, they are, I must say, admirable in their powers of patient endurance, and for the elasticity and buoyancy, with which in them the spirit lives under a weight that would crush minds of more masculine and tougher texture, but gifted with less power of reactive play.

One other word. I write at a moment when public feeling in this country is highly excited on the subject of the Roman Catholic Church, and I must not wilfully leave room for extreme inferences to the prejudice of her clergy in the kingdom of Naples, which I know or think to be unwarranted by the facts. That clergy, no doubt, regular and secular, is a body of mixed character, which I am not about to attempt describing; but it would in my opinion, be unjust to hold them, as a licated in the proceedings of ortion of them.

beyond all question, are so. I am convinced, from what has reached me, that a portion of the priests make disclosures from the confessional for the purposes of the Government; and I have known of cases of arrest immediately following interviews for confession, in such a manner that it is impossible not to connect them together. But, on the other hand, there are many of the clergy, and even of the monks, who are among the objects of the persecution I have endeavoured to describe. The most distinguished members of the celebrated Benedictine convent of Monte Cassino have for some time past been driven from the retreat, to which they had anew given the character of combined peace, piety, and learning. Several of them were in prison when I was at Naples; others not in actual confinement, but trembling, as a hare trembles, at every whisper of the wind. One was in prison for liberal opinions; another for being the brother of a man of liberal opinions. There was no charge against these men, but the two brothers were confined because it was thought that through the first of them might possibly be learned something against some other suspected person or persons. Among the arrests in December last, there were, I believe, between twenty and thirty of the clerical order. It may indeed be, and perhaps is, true that the greater part of the whole body stand by and look on, without any sympathy, or at least any effective sympathy, for those on whom the edge of this sharp affliction falls; but *this* is perhaps not less true of the nobles, whose general tone I believe to be that of disapproval towards the proceedings of the Government, while they have a *kind of armistice* with it, and it is the class beneath

them that bears the brunt of the struggle. The Church at Naples is presided over by a Cardinal Archbishop of high birth, simple manners, and entire devotion to the duties of his calling, who, I am certain, is entirely incapable of either participating in or conniving at any proceedings unworthy in their character. The Jesuits are the body who perhaps stand nearest to the Government; but they were ejected from their college during the time of the Constitution with flagrant illegality and some considerable harshness: and even their doctrines do not seem to satisfy those in power, for a periodical which they conduct, under the name of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, and which they used to print on their premises, has now been removed to Rome. That the clergy have a strong faction with the Government I do not doubt: so have the *lazzaroni*: but there is no proof of the complicity of the body, and clear proof of the opposition of a part of it, however their professional tone and learning may, to a certain extent, innocently predispose them in favour of the authorities, especially under a monarch reputed to be most regular and strict in the offices of religion.

I remain, my dear Lord Aberdeen,

With much regard, sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

6, Carlton Gardens, July 14, 1851.

AN EXAMINATION
OF
THE OFFICIAL REPLY
OF THE
NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT.

Clarence. Relent, and save your souls.

Murderer. Relent! 'tis cowardly, and womanish.

Clarence. Not to relent, is beastly, savage, devilish.

RICHARD III, *Act 1., Scene 4.*

WHEN I addressed the Earl of Aberdeen in the month of July, with respect to the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government, I did not expect to return to the subject. But neither did I then expect to be encountered in the field by a responsible antagonist. The appearance of the Neapolitan Government itself,* under the form of a publication carrying its authority, upon the arena, has altered my position. I have now thought it my duty to that Government, as well as to the public, to place its reply point by point in the scales along with my accusation, and strictly take account of the result.

And my first duty is an agreeable one: it is the duty of confessing that, whatever may have been the

* Rassegna degli Errori e delle Fallacie pubblicate dal Sig. Giambattista due sue Lettere indiritte al Conte Aberdeen. Napoli, Stamperia de 1851. A French version, announced as by authority, appears in the *des Débats*, of the 27th, 28th, and 30th September.

prudence of the decision to appear and plead in the cause, the course taken has at least been a manly and an open one: this openness, this manliness, lead to and justify the hope that that Government will not shrink from the logical, legitimate, and obvious consequences of the step it has thought fit so deliberately to adopt.

It may, indeed, seem strange that this reply, if published in Naples, where the accusation, of course, is not permitted to appear, and rendered by authority into French, for publication in a most respectable Parisian journal, should not, so far as I am able to learn, have been published at all in England, where the charge was originally advanced, and has attracted general attention among all classes. I can only ascribe it to the fact, that in this country there is but one opinion, so to speak, through all orders of the community upon the melancholy subject. I suppose it was felt that, eagerly as a confutation ought to have been hailed, a reply which is not only no confutation of my statements at all, but not even an attempt at one, would have been a waste of words in one of those countries, where it is a fixed and traditional practice to canvass with the utmost freedom all the acts of those in public authority, and where this liberty and habit of unrestrained discussion are prized as one of the very chiefest and most necessary bulwarks, alike to loyalty, to order, and to freedom.

I have termed the production before me a reply which is no confutation, nor even an attempt at one; and I must freely confess that the first quarrel is with its title. It is called "Errors and Misrepresentation" but, if

the object of a title be to give a correct description, it ought to have been denominated "A Tacit Admission of the Accuracy of Nine-tenth Parts of the Statements contained in Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen." For those who do not enter into the case, it sounds very well when they are told that the errors and misrepresentations, or, as they have in some quarters been called, falsehoods and calumnies, of my letters have been answered; but I now assert, without fear even of challenge, that nine-tenths of my most startling assertions are passed by in total silence in the apology of the Neapolitan Government. And I suppose it is no extravagant assumption if I treat that silence, in an answer that made its appearance three or four months after the parties were made acquainted with a charge, as simply equivalent to an admission of the facts.

Before I enter on particulars, let me observe upon that which next after the title meets the eye in the pamphlet before me, its very significant and well-chosen motto; *errare, nescire, decipi, et malum et turpe ducimus*. I at once recognise both the general truth and the particular application. Notwithstanding the courteous and forbearing tone of the pamphlet, its writer (whether he be a single or a composite person I shall not stop to inquire) felt that he could not do justice to his case—if at least he imagines it to be a confutation of mine—without intimating that to be ill informed, to blunder, to be duped, was nothing less than criminal and base on the part of one who undertook to impeach, on grounds so high, and in language so unmeasured, the proceedings of a Government. I am certain the writer cannot feel this more strong

than I do. I re-echo the proposition. I subscribe to the doctrine as cordially as I profoundly differ from some doctrines which he has broached. Launched on the twentieth year of public life, with my lot cast in a stirring country and a stirring time, I cannot plead the character of a novice in excuse or palliation of temerity. Neither can I throw the smallest fraction of my responsibility for the measure of publication, at the time, and under the circumstances, when it took place, on any other person: the appeal to the world which I made in July last, although it came in connection with the name of the Earl of Aberdeen, was my own act, and my own act alone. I very well knew that on the general truth of my charges I was staking my own character, which, though little in itself, is much to me. I am the first, not to admit only, but to urge, that to have gathered such charges upon hearsay, to have made them my own with levity and haste, to have swerved one inch from strict impartiality through the hope of popular sympathy and applause; to have aimed blows at the cause of order and stability by exaggerating defects incidental to all governments, or to have claimed or exercised, upon any general grounds, the functions of a cosmopolite for the rectification of the affairs of a foreign country, and by such means to have bid for the favour of persons to whose political opinions I demur—this would, indeed, have been in me conduct criminal and base; so criminal and so base, that it would have deserved reprobation only one degree less in intensity than that which I invoked upon h it was my
purpose to brand.

But, indeed,

fignor-

ance, of herding with republicans and malefactors, and the rest, are not worth discussing; for the whole matter comes to one single issue—Are the allegations true, or are they false? If they are false, I shall not be the man to quarrel with any severity of reproach that may be directed against me; but if they are true, then I am quite sure the Neapolitan Government will take no benefit by insinuating doubts whether sentiments like mine, even if well founded, ought to be made known,* or by taking any trivial and irrelevant objection to my personal conduct or qualifications.

One word, however, I must expend on a personal matter, because it is also a matter of courtesy and feeling. It is urged that, whereas I should have been received at Naples with kindness, not only by the Ministers, but by the King himself, and listened to with attention; yet, instead of profiting by such opportunities, I was careful (I am now quoting the French version) to see none of the Ministers, and no considerable person, and did not even manifest the usual wish to be presented to the Sovereign.

It is an entire error to suppose that I avoided the Ministers, or sought in preference the society of persons of any other political party. Through the kindness of Prince Castalcicala, then Neapolitan Minister in London, I was provided with a letter to the Head of the Administration, and this letter I delivered in the usual manner on the very day after I reached Naples. I thus took the only step in my power to turn it to account. I likewise requested the British Minister, Sir W. Temple, to be kind enough to secure for me the opportunity of paying my humble respects to the Sovereign on

* *Rassegna*, p. 5.

the earliest occasion. But it so happened, that there was no occasion of the kind until many weeks after my arrival at Naples. During this interval I had become gradually aware, in a considerable degree, of the state of things which I have endeavoured to describe; and although I then had taken no positive resolution on the subject, yet I felt a deep anxiety that in some manner the political party, with whose foreign policy I had been associated, should be effectually disconnected from such proceedings. I must confess that arrests, which I saw going on around me, and with the particulars of which I was more or less acquainted, had shocked me to the very last degree; and I now look back on them with the same unmitigated horror. I was, in short, convinced of thus much,—first, that I could not with perfect ingenuousness appear in the circle of the Court, and remain silent upon these matters; secondly, that the malady was deep, and must be dealt with by influences—friendly, indeed, and considerate—but of a weight and authority far different from any that I could bring to bear by my merely personal representations. For these reasons, when the time for holding a reception was about to arrive, I begged leave of Sir W. Temple to withdraw the request I had made to him; and I trust it will thus appear that, whether I judged correctly or otherwise, I was not prompted by a wanton disrespect for constituted authority or for the Royal Person. I had no such sentiment either towards the person of the King or towards his throne. My fervent desire was, and even yet is, that that throne may be established in truth and righteousness; and my deep conviction of the revolutionary tendency of

the proceedings against which I wrote, was with me one very strong reason for attempting their exposure.

I will now proceed to present the balance-sheet, which the Government of Naples and the public are alike entitled to demand of me. I shall state distinctly, how many and which of the allegations contained in my Two Letters to Lord Aberdeen I think it my duty to qualify—what and how many of them are seriously contested. It will readily be believed that the time which has elapsed since my first publication has not been barren of fresh information to me; but I feel so convinced both of the sufficiency in amount of the statements already before the world, and of the demonstrative confirmation they have now received, that I shall introduce no new heads of charge, and shall be very sparing of new illustrations of charges already made, except in the few cases where they have been questioned. One effective weapon I deliberately refrain from using—I mean the startling enumeration of my uncontested accusations; for feeling is already awake, and I do not wish, where I can help it, to cloud the serenity of the public judgment. Only to this proposition I must formally draw attention, and claim assent: what has not been contested, is admitted; for the apologist distinctly declares, in his Introduction and elsewhere, that he will deal with the entire case;* “will restore those facts which have been exaggerated to their correct proportions; will point out those that are wholly unfounded; and will expose those that are calumnious.” Again, to all the calumnies which I have spread he will “do exact and ample justice.”**

* Rassegna, p. 5.

** Ibid., p. 8.

As I do not intend gratuitously to enlarge the lamentable catalogue of my facts, so neither shall I needlessly reiterate my vehement and unqualified language. To gibbet infamy such as that of the President Navarro and the Minister Peccheneda, is a task which, like that of the executioner, somebody must perform for the benefit of society; and I have performed it. But no man should needlessly return to the loathsome details of such a business. In these pages, accordingly, I shall not insert a word except such as seems absolutely demanded by the course and aim of my argument. The strong language of my Letters I leave upon record, simply saying that I wish any the least part of it could with propriety be either repented, qualified, or withdrawn.

Passing by, then, the statements which no attempt is made to dispute, I shall advert, firstly, to those which, being contradicted, are also proved to be erroneous, or which, upon the whole, I see reason to withdraw; secondly, to those which are indeed contradicted without my having found any cause to recede from them; thirdly, to those which are noticed with the apparent intention more or less of leaving an impression that they have been contradicted, but without any real contradiction at all. I must likewise notice cursorily a fourth and a singular class; that, namely, of contradictions which have been volunteered by zealous defenders of the Neapolitan Government, but which, instead of being taken up and adopted by its recognized and official advocate, are passed by in total and very significant silence.

I. Of the first of these classes I shall rapidly dispose.

1. I have learned nothing to confirm the statement, which I reported as probably though not certainly true, that Settembrini has been tortured.* I therefore think it my duty to withdraw it, although it is not met by the Neapolitan Government with an explicit denial.

2. I have committed an error in saying he was condemned to double irons for life.** Double irons form no part of the sentence of the *ergastolo*, which was his commuted sentence.

3. I have stated that six judges were dismissed at Reggio, upon presuming to acquit a batch of political prisoners.*** This is an error. The statement should have been, that three were dismissed, and three removed to other posts. This removal is not an uncommon nor an ineffective mode of punishment.

4. I have stated that seventeen invalids were massacred in the prison of Procida on the occasion of the revolt. I believe this also to be an error.

5. I have stated that certain prisoners acquitted in the trial of the *Unità Italiana* were, when I last heard of them, still in prison. This is calculated to convey an impression that they were detained for some considerable time after acquittal, which is not correct. The "Review" states, and I do not dispute it, that the acquitted prisoners were released after the lapse of only two days.

Such is the list of retractions I have to make.

I have been much criticised for constantly using the expressions "I believe," "I have heard," "It was stated to me," and the like, instead of pursuing the

* *First Letter*, p. 187.

** *Ibid.*, p. 187.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 221.

simple strain of assertion throughout: and it has been strangely inferred, that I raked together mere hearsay and rumour, and inculcated a Government on the strength of them.

I did endeavour with laborious care to appreciate, and, by these phrases and otherwise, to give my readers the means of in some degree appreciating, the evidence, varying in amount, for each one of my allegations. The result now proves, that I have been successful beyond my utmost hopes. The words that I used most lightly, upon presumption rather than knowledge, were words of commendation with respect to an individual in high station.

Not one among the whole list of accusations rested upon hearsay. Every one of them had either demonstrative evidence or reasonable and probable evidence in its favour. It may now be seen, in these pages, how small and insignificant a fraction of error made its way into the Letters.

For, having given my retractations above, I must guard the reader against supposing, either that those erroneous allegations imputed to the Neapolitan Government what was worse than many of my unquestioned and admitted statements, and thus heightened the general colouring of the picture, or that, in correcting my details, I am prepared to recede from the substance of any one of the charges.

Though Settembrini has not been tortured, it must not be assumed that torture is an instrument from which, when convenient, the police always shrink; or that my imputation of it is the first they have heard.*

* See, for example, the *Protestation du Peuple des Deux Siciles*, translated by Ricciardi, Paris, 1848, p. 31.

The assertion that corporal agony is inflicted, and that without judicial authority, by the Neapolitan police in the prisons, I now make with confidence. The fact that it is utterly illegal unhappily does not afford the very faintest presumption to the contrary.

Again, while stating that Settembrini is not in double irons, I do not mean to mitigate the general idea I have given of his cruel and wicked punishment. He is confined, with eight more prisoners, at San Stefano, in a room sixteen palmi square, which they are never allowed to leave: one of them named Cajazzo, a man condemned for murder forty-nine years ago, who boasts of having at different times murdered thirty-five persons. Several of these exploits he has committed in the prison upon his companions; and I have been assured that the murders in this Ergastolo have exceeded fifty in a single year. What kind of protection, I want to know, is thus afforded to the life of Settembrini?

Again, as to the dismissal of judges. I will not weary the reader of these pages with all the details of mean and shameful revenge which have been used to beat down the high spirit of the legal profession in the persons of the judges. But even the last few weeks have afforded a fresh instance. The political trial called that of the Pugnatori has recently been concluded in Naples. Death was demanded on the part of the Government; but the sentences passed were principally to banishment. The capital was in amazement at the boldness of the judges: and well it might. Since then two of them have been dismissed; what is to happen further time will show. But this *was not* all. The Government have actually appointed

a commission of review to correct this lenient sentence! I add to this, that, on the occasion of another recent trial, an officer of the executive power was placed in the very chamber of the judges, when they met together to consult upon their sentence.*

It has been said I spoke disrespectfully of the Neapolitan judges.** Certainly, I endeavoured to do so of many of them. But those who blame me should recollect that I dare not praise. To be the object of my commendation, insignificant as it is, would be a burden in Naples which few except the very highest could bear.

I could have found there men, and classes of men, worthy to be praised with all the fervour of thought and language that the heart of man can prompt; but stern prudence has restrained me from offering to them the fatal gift.

And now for the massacre perpetrated at Procida by the *gendarmi*, and rewarded by the Government. I can perceive the source of the error into which I fell. For though invalids were not slain on that deplorable occasion, yet prisoners who took refuge and hid under beds were dragged forth, and shot in cold blood by the *gendarmi* after order had been restored. This was on the day of the riot or revolt. On the 26th and on the 28th of June, when it had long been quenched in blood, the work of slaughter was renewed. I believe I rather under than over stated the total loss of life: and two officers—not, as I said, one—received promotion or honours for this abominable enormity.

* One word in regard to salaries of judges. I mentioned the highest salary paid; but I may give a better idea of the general scale by stating that there is an hospital in Naples, where the annual charge divided by the number of patients yields a quotient larger than the salary very commonly paid to

** *Rass.*, p. 56.

I ought to add that I never said the unfortunate victims were political prisoners. But I cannot quit the subject without noticing the surprising fact that the Neapolitan Government actually find fault with me in this case for reviving the discussion of a superannuated and obsolete occurrence.* The massacre took place in June, 1848; and, at the time when the apologist penned this strange criticism, his employers were trying some men, and detaining hundreds more untried in prison, on the plea or pretext of acts they had done in May of the same year! Thus, then, against mercy there is a statute of limitations; but vengeance must never die.

And now as to the detention of acquitted persons. Criminal laws and courts are commonly founded on the principle that men are to be treated as innocent until they are found to be guilty, and *à fortiori* that they are to be treated as innocent when they have been found innocent. But in Naples the principle is, first, that men are to be treated as guilty until they are proved to be innocent; and, secondly, that they may still be treated as guilty when they have been found not guilty. For a verdict or sentence favourable to the accused can rarely amount to a positive establishment of his innocence. The issue raised is not, was he innocent? but, was he guilty? From the nature of the case, the failure to prove guilt will rarely involve proof of innocence: and at Naples, the most favourable reply he can hope from the court amounts to this, that no sufficient proof of guilt has been laid before it; a lame, doubtful, floundering acquittal. But such proof may be forthcoming at a subsequent period; having been tried now is no reason why he should not be tried

* *Rass.*, p. 56: *un vieto fatto*, a stale or mouldy fact.

again, but rather in the nature of a reason why he should. Taken at the best, a favourable judgment only replaces the subject of it in the position in which he stood before, of a person suspected by the police, and deemed by them capable either of political crime, or of knowing, or of being related to, or connected with, some one capable of it. An ample reason, surely, for detaining him in prison, on prudential grounds, and with a view to further investigations. Who could complain of so reasonable a discretion intrusted to the police, especially when it is considered, as the "Review" informs us, that the members of that corps enjoy, except as to those in its inferior ranks, a degree of estimation with the public varying according to their merits! *

I shall now give a painful proof that this is a true picture of the practices at Naples; specifying that I might supply others more flagrant still.

In the month of November last (and I have heard of no change since that date, now two months back) there were in the prison of San Francesco, at Naples, seventeen priests, some of them holding ecclesiastical dignities and professorial chairs. I do not mean that there were no more than seventeen; but that of seventeen I am about to speak. Five of them had been tried; twelve were in the hands of the police without having been tried. One or two of these twelve only, I believe, had been even charged. One of the twelve, neither tried nor charged, was a chronic invalid of fourscore years old. I have the terms for which nine out of the twelve had been thus detained. Three of them were so short as eight months only; two had

* Page 58.

been thus detained for thirty and thirty-one months respectively.

: But I must state the cases of the other five. One of them had been arrested on charges of which he was acquitted, but was serving a sentence of two years under fresh counts laid in virtue of a decree which was passed five months after his arrest. A second had been tried, found guilty, suffered the whole of his sentence, and was still detained in prison by the police. The remaining three had been charged, tried, and acquitted by the Grand Criminal Court, but after acquittal they had still been kept in prison—the first I know not how long, the second for eight months, and the third for fifteen. This may sound strange, but there is no marvel in Naples without a sister to it. For a certain Raffaele Valerio was charged in the cause of the Fifth September, though he had alleged in his first examination that he had been arrested two months before that date, and was in prison at the time of the alleged offence. No notice was taken of this statement. When the trial actually came on, but not till then, the allegation was inquired into and found true, and he was acquitted. In the mean time, he had spent thirty-three more months in prison.

I shall not give all the particulars of the condition of the priests to whom I have referred, but a few only. They are imprisoned, then, in defiance even of a rescript of the reactionary period, dated June, 1850, against preventive arrest in the case of priests. They are confined in a prison chiefly used as an hospital, of course for the benefit of their health. They are allowed, for clothing and maintenance, the *liberal* sum of six grains, about twopence halfpenny,

a day; and even this they have had a hard struggle to keep. They are still, however, as priests, spared from the floggings which the police inflicted upon members of the other learned professions; but they have the affliction of living in a place where herds of young lads, taken up for petty offences, are kept for months and years, without care or discipline, and inured to the general practice of vices too horrible to name.

I have now, I think, made good the undertaking with which I entered on this class of statements.

II. The next portion of my task is to deal with the points in which the Neapolitan Government have controverted the substance of my inculpatory statements, but in which I find no cause to recede from, but more to heighten, them.

The material contradictions, then, made to me, which fall into this class, are as follows:—

1. I have stated at the time when I left Naples “a trial was expected to come on immediately in which the number charged was between four and five hundred;” * and the reply is that the “Act of Accusation,” published on the 11th of last June, contained the precise number of thirty-seven.

I adhere to my statement as it stands, adding that all these men, charged for the events of May, 1848, had already received an amnesty for those acts, solemnly published on the 24th of that month, but since declared null by Navarro and his colleagues.

I admit that forty-six only, not thirty-seven as the Review states, were formally indicted by the Government in Naples before the Court. But at the same

* Page 175.

time were instituted two similar trials for the same events in the provinces of Salerno and Terra di Lavoro respectively, the first of which included fifty-four persons, and the second forty-six. Thus then the number of thirty-seven is at once raised to one hundred and forty-six persons.

But this is far below my number. What then became of the residue? An hundred were, as we have seen, disposed of by processes in other provinces; and I have before me the "*Requisitorie ed Atti di Accusa*" in the cause, from which it appears that the number of persons whose names were included in the process by the Procurator-General was three hundred and twenty-six. Thus we have a total of four hundred and twenty-six, which seems pretty well to warrant my statement, that the number was "between four and five hundred." But even this was not the limit; for the words are judiciously added,* "together with others not yet well enough known"!

It is quite true, however, but in no way weakens my statement, that the trials of these three hundred and twenty-six were not at once proceeded with. For three of the whole number, and three only, the process was unanimously declared extinct, upon a ground, the sufficiency of which cannot well be doubted: they were dead.

I will now show how these three hundred and twenty-six were disposed of in the month of June last.

The papers against them amounted to 227 volumes; and it was doubtless found necessary to reduce the numbers to be included in one and the same trial. The Procurator-General, accordingly, demanded that

* *Requisitorie, &c.*, p. 15.

the court should commence forthwith the trial in the cases of forty-six, and the process of judgment as in contumacy against fifty; should give warrants of arrest (which it will be remembered commonly *follow* arrest) against three; should direct further examination and prosecution of the cause against two groups, one of twenty-nine, and the other of fifty-seven; should suspend proceedings against two other groups, one of fifty-nine, and the other of seventy-five; should remit two to the local judges; extinguish the process for three who were dead; and declare in respect of two that there was no ground for any proceeding against them. These demands were voted by the judges, with some trivial variations, and one more significant. It relates to the two living men whom, with the three dead, it was proposed by the Government to let off. The language of the Procurator-General was strong. He declares there was no shadow of evidence against the first of them, while excellent reports of his political conduct had been received. His name was Leopoldo Tarantino. The other was named Giacomo Tofani; he had been arrested because he bore the same name with another person whom the police wanted to get hold of; and the manner in Naples is, if there is a suspicion against John Jones, but there are two John Joneses, and it is not known which may be the man, to take both. Thus it had happened that Giacomo Tofani had been arrested by mistake. On these tolerably sufficient grounds, then, the Procurator-General desired the release of these two. Will it be believed that there was a division among the judges upon the question of releasing them? It was carried, indeed; but the

language of the judges in regard to these men was, that the proofs against them were vague, and preponderated for their innocence rather than their guilt.* What keenness of scent, what fidelity of instinct, what appetite for condemnation! The prosecutor declares one case to be a simple mistake; the other without a tittle of evidence; and the judges find by a majority that on the whole the evidence preponderates, forsooth, for innocence!

But I said, and I say again, fresh investigation usually tends to heighten, and not extenuate, these proceedings. I said incautiously** that the Government had laid aside—meaning they had abandoned—the charge founded on the famous forgery, in the case of Poerio. I was wrong. That forgery is still alive. In this same cause of May 15 are the names of Poerio and Dragonetti; and it is expressly voted by the judges that the case of this prosecution (that is to say, upon the forged letter) is reserved for further investigation.*** Dragonetti remains untried in prison all the while.

Lastly; such being the numbers, and such the facts, the Government has packed the court (the First Chamber) with a majority of judges who may be depended on for rigour. At their head is, as usual, the shameless forehead of Navarro. Radice, who could not be trusted, having in a previous trial voted for acquittal, was translated to the Second Chamber. His place is supplied by Nicola Morelli, on whom full reliance may be placed; and who, with Canofari, Cicero, and Vitale, all gathered round Navarro, will

* Requisitorie, &c., p. 68.

** First Letter, p. 190.

*** Requisitorie, p. 75.

in due time do full justice to the cause of order, as it is understood by them. Nay more; to meet the possible case of an accidental vacancy, Mandarinini is in readiness as a *Supplente*. He has just been made *Cavaliere*; and is supposed to know something of the authorship of the *Rassegna* or Review of the Two Letters.

I have now done with the cause of the 15th of May; and I really must ask what fatuity it was that tempted the Neapolitan apologist to venture upon such a ground?

2. I have stated, and the point is one of importance, that the accusation of Jervolino "formed the sole real basis of the trial and condemnation of Poerio."* This is contradicted by the reply,** and an animated defence is offered on behalf of Jervolino, who I have no doubt is a worthy representative of the class to which he belongs; a class, occupying a high place in the working machinery of the Neapolitan Government; a class, whose character has been drawn once and for ever by Manzoni in those burning words, "*diventando infami, rimanevano oscuri.*"*** It is also observed, with an unconsciousness altogether worthy of notice, that, even although a portion of Jervolino's evidence should have been disproved by its own self-contradiction, it does not follow but that the rest of it might be true. The notion of public justice and morality involved in a remark like this is worth far more than pages of argument or invective from an opponent in revealing, and in realizing to the minds of foreigners, the real spirit and character of the political system of Naples.

* Page 199.

** Page 41.

*** In the 'Colonna Infame.'

I have then to repeat my statement, that Poerio was condemned only on the evidence of the paid informer Jervolino; I add that this took place though evidence was offered of his being paid, and though by the law of Naples the evidence of a paid informer cannot be received.

My assertion was supported by a reference to certain evidence of Romeo and Margherita, with reasons why it could not stand. There was another piece of hearsay evidence, which I thought not worth mention; for it went merely to the point that a man called Cantone was making use of Poerio's name to recommend himself, without any proof or presumption that he had authority so to employ it. Now I do not really believe, that the mind of any judge was or could be influenced by testimony of such a nature, which at the most could only have been used as a clue to further inquiries.

3. I stated, that the fate of Poerio and his companions had been aggravated since my departure from Naples by their removal to Ischia.

The official reply assures us of various recent relaxations of some importance. I know from other sources that Poerio was in the hospital during the autumn: according to the custom, he was not chained, while there, to another person; he, however, carried his own chain. At another time he was released from the double chain, and was himself chained to a ring in the centre of the floor, I believe called the *puntale*, instead.

I rejoice in any amelioration of such a lot; and *the even partial escape from double chaining is the*

escape from a horror which, for a gentleman, cannot be exaggerated.

But I grieve to say that my statement was but too strictly true. Bad as was the condition of Poerio and his fellow-sufferers at Nisida, it was greatly, and, I fear, purposely, aggravated by the removal. One word, however, upon Nisida. It is denied* that the Bagni are under the care of his Royal Highness the Conte di Aquila, of whom I had said that as admiral he had charge of the island. But it is not denied, that an order was sent by his Royal Highness to enforce at that time the use of double irons in the prison; and the fact, I believe, is, that I was inaccurate in stating the Prince had charge of the *island* as admiral: he has, however, in that capacity, together with other "*Rami alieni della Real Marina*," charge of the *forzati* or convicts. It is admitted** that Palumbo visited the prison in the capacity of a subordinate officer to the King's brother. Thus my assertions are made completely good. But it is boasted, forsooth, that he did not deprive some of the prisoners who were in the best circumstances of the mattresses they had, by their own means, procured. I will add, while touching upon mattresses, another fact. Nisco was carried while ill to Nisida. On arriving there he was put into the bed, and made to use the bed-linen, of a patient who had just before died of consumption.

Upon arriving at Ischia, the prisoners removed thither were put into filthy dens, so contrived that a sentry had the power of seeing and hearing whatever passed in them. With this sentry was a companion,

* *Rassegna*, p. 50.

** *Ibid.*, p. 51.

who was supplied with that mild recipe for preserving order, a stock of hand grenades. Though the prisoners had never been out of custody, they were subjected to a personal search, much more minute than decent. Their money, linen, and utensils were taken from them. The boast of permitted mattresses does not reach to Ischia; for three months they had to sleep upon the stones. For their meals, they were allowed neither seat, table, nor cup. Cups, it may be said, were hardly wanted; for their allowance of water was reduced to three Neapolitan pounds (36 ounces) per day, of bad quality. There, too, a navy surgeon was placed *in disponibilit *, something between suspension and dismissal with us, for having inconveniently certified the ill-health of a prisoner. To us it may sound less than it was felt by them to be, that in the hot month of June they, the political convicts, were, (I believe, exclusively,) ordered to wear their thick and heavy dress of coarse woollen and leather, both in and out of doors. A woman of abandoned profligacy, whose name I forbear to mention, ruled the house of the commandant, insulted the prisoners, and the women of their families, when applying for admission to see them, at her will, and caused a serjeant to be sentenced to confinement for not having forced the wife of one of them to part with the infant at her breast when she was entering to see her husband. And, omitting other particulars, I shall conclude with stating that these gentlemen were compelled to attend the floggings inflicted in this bagno for various offences on the vilest of the convicts, the refuse of the refuse of mankind. Such are the accounts that I have received through channels that command my belief.

I will not, indeed, believe that those in authority at Naples are aware of all this. I will hope that, as to much of it, they are more grossly darkened than the most careless gatherer of hearsay rumours among the butterfly visitors of Naples; but I really must remind them of their appropriate motto, *errare, nescire, decipi, et malum et turpe ducimus*.

Of the effect upon the health of the prisoners that such treatment must produce, it is painful to make an estimate; and were anything too strange to be woven into this melancholy tissue of fact that eclipses fiction, I should have received with incredulity the further statement, that Pironte, when suffering under a paralytic affection, was not suffered to enter the hospital, and that oral orders were given by General Palumbo that only three of the political convicts should at any time be allowed to be received there at once!

But I must not omit to call attention to the statistics of the results. They were, I believe, as follows, as early as September last:—Seventeen persons had been condemned to irons in the preceding February; three of them were by that time ill at Ischia; one at Piedigrotta; three at Pescara; while three more, Margherita, Vallo, and Vellucci, were dead. Surely, then, the gallows may well be spared!

III. Passing on from the contradictions thus offered me, I have next to deal with the cases in which the semblance of a contradiction to my statements is put forth, and I am, of course, found guilty of exaggeration or calumny; while any real contradiction, such as can be dragged forth to light and brought to account, is carefully avoided.

1. Thus there is a very long statement* made of the process prescribed or indicated by law for the treatment of offenders, which is meant to be taken as a reply to my charges on that head.

But the author has passed by the fact that my main charge against the Government is its utter lawlessness. I am obliged to repeat it: and I say there is no body of brigands in the country which breaks the laws of Naples with the same hardihood, or on the same scale, as does the Government by the hands of its agents.

The law of Naples, however, is not that which my Reviewer has stated it to be. The law of Naples is the Constitution of 1848. That is the law which is systematically, continually, and in all points broken by the Government. But even the older, and the newer, laws of the absolute kings of Naples are broken also in the most flagrant manner. In some points probably they are not, namely, where they need no breaking; and where their character is already harsh and cruel, as I believe to be the case with the law of treason generally. Again, what need to break the law in a point like that where the author tells us** that in all State offences the police may arrest and detain prisoners *without being confined to any limit of time?*

I should, however, be abusing the patience of the reader were I to discuss anew that part of the subject which relates to the arrest, prosecution, and trial of those who have been so unhappy as to become objects of the suspicion, malice, cupidity, or vindictiveness of the police. For it has already been sifted to the

* Rassegna, pp. 14-25.

** Ibid. p. 18.

bottom, in a work prepared, indeed, and published without my privity, but which has fallen under my eye; it is entitled "A detailed Exposure of the Apology put forth by the Neapolitan Government,"* and has evidently been drawn up with a carefulness and knowledge equal to the singular ability it displays. It is only lest the circumstance of its being anonymous should slacken the interest its title would create, that I have thought it my duty to make this reference.

2. Again, when I have stated, as an eye-witness, that prisoners in the Vicaria are brought upstairs to the doctors, instead of being visited by them, according to the rules, it is no answer to me to say that the physicians of Naples are highly respected, and discharge all their duties honourably. And as I am thus met, I will go further, and say, the medical men of Naples exercise their profession as regards State prisoners in fear and trembling, and that they are frequently compelled, by the fear of the displeasure of Government and of the loss of their bread if they make an inconvenient report, to consider the wishes and purposes of the police in stating their professional opinions rather more than the health of the prisoners.

3. Again, I stated** that Pironte was confined for two months before his sentence in a cell at the Vicaria eight feet square, with two companions, lighted only by a grating at the top, out of which they could not see.

I am told in reply*** that Pironte wrote his defence in this den, and that the present King shut up the dark subterranean dungeons. But I never said it was

* Longmans, 1852. ** Page 184. *** Rassegna, pp. 28, 29.

dark; never said it was subterranean: and I am met with mere sound and vapour, instead of plain answers to plain and pointed allegations. I must, however, observe on a strange proceeding. In this and several instances, my charges, in order that they may afford some matter for contradiction, are very grossly mis-translated,* and the answer is given to the sense thus put upon them.

Yet, although this pretended reply does not contradict me, I must contradict it. I know not what refinements may enter into the strict definition of a *criminale*, but I say that the dungeons are not shut up. Porcari was in a dungeon last February, untried. He is there still. Here, again, I am met with a make-believe reply, and told that the name Maschio belongs to a promenade in the highest part of the Castle of Ischia, and that there are cells near it for such prisoners as have broken the rules of the Bagno. What have we to do with them? I stated** that Porcari was lying untried in a dark dungeon, twenty-four feet, or else palms, below the level of the sea; I believe I should have said of the ground. This statement is not denied. I will now enlarge it, by adding that, in this horrible condition, he is completing the third year of his imprisonment. Beyond the place in which he is immured, nothing can be known of him. The commonest prudence forbids communication about him with the only person allowed to visit him in that Stygian abyss—his wife. And we must recollect that, had he escaped, she might probably have been taken in his stead. For it is a practice of the chosen defenders of order and the public peace at Naples, if they

* *Rassegna*, pp. 25, 49, *et alibi*.

** P. 185.

are in search of a political suspect, and conceive he has absconded, to arrest and detain indefinitely any of his relations they please; for is it not possible that they *may* know whither he is gone? I do not speak at random. About one year ago, a Neapolitan named Morice made his escape from his country. In June last, his household, *consisting exclusively of women*, was subjected to one of those nocturnal visits from the police which I have described. They carried off one of his two sisters and an aged domestic servant; they moreover apprehended a male relative, who was the stay and adviser of the family. The second and only remaining sister they humanely left to enjoy her freedom as she might. Nay, such was the excess of leniency, that the old servant, accused of nothing, was released after two months' confinement. The male relative and the arrested sister were still, in November last, expiating the crime of their relationship. The treatment of these women by the gendarmes was such, that one of that body, by the orders of a foreign soldier not dead to the spirit of his profession, received a severe flogging for it. Indeed, I have been informed that, for two months, the sister thus arrested was confined in a cell along with two common prostitutes. I could add other instances of confinement in *criminali* or dungeons, by which I understand the apologist to mean cells commonly underground and wholly or almost without light. But it is needless. For his assertion on this head, although made to carry half a page* of eulogy and adulation, seems to be cautiously restricted at the close to this, that there are now no unlighted cells below the level of the earth in the particular prison of the Vicaria, which amounts

* Rassegna, p. 28.

to but little, and was scarcely worth his while to state.

4. I come next to the most important of these cases, namely, the question of the number of political prisoners in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which has been made the great rallying point for the defenders of the Neapolitan Government, and the main source and stay of invective against me. Let us now come to the facts.

The substance of my own statement* on this point is as follows: 1. That "the general belief is, that the prisoners for political offences in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are between fifteen or twenty, and thirty thousand." 2. That, for myself, "I do believe that twenty thousand is no unreasonable estimate." 3. That "there can be no certainty on the point," as all "means of accurate information" are withheld. 4. That my statement had "been met by an assertion purporting to be founded on returns, that instead of twenty thousand they were about two thousand."** "Let the Neapolitan Government," I added, "have the full benefit of the contradiction I have mentioned;" upon which I, however, suspended my own judgment.

Upon reviewing these passages, the only fault I have to find with them, strange to say, is this, that they admit too much in favour of the Neapolitan Government. When I wrote the passages last quoted, I had seen a dispatch from Naples, which alluded to certain returns of the number of prisoners, as a contradiction of my statement; but I had not seen the returns themselves; and hence, not doubting that they were what they were described to be, I adopted that *description*, and too eagerly and promptly announced

* 1st Letter, p. 174.

** 2nd Letter, p. 217.

that the Neapolitan Government reduced the twenty thousand to two thousand, and this upon the strength, as alleged, of official returns.

But the moment that these returns met my eye, I could not fail to observe that, though carefully paraded as a contradiction to my allegation, they were, even without the smallest impeachment of their *bona fides*, no contradiction at all; and they left the question exactly where they found it, yet subject to the general rule, as I think, that what is not contradicted in an official answer is really confessed.

I say, without the smallest impeachment of their *bona fides*. I shall raise no question about Cav. Pasqualoni or Signor Bartolomucci, by whom they are attested, although I ought to state that this has been done publicly by others as to the second of these functionaries;* but in justice to my subject, I must observe, that among ourselves, in a contested matter, any returns incapable of verification would be received as so much waste paper. On grounds the most broad and general, they can only deserve credit with the nation when the nation has some control over them, some means of inquiring whether they are correct, of exposing where they are wrong, of punishing where they are corrupt. The responsibility of public functionaries, and a free press for the detection of fraud or error, are the essential conditions of credibility in such documents. Of neither of these is there the faintest shadow in Naples. Even in the point of mere good faith, *whose* good faith is it on which we are to rely? Not the good faith of Bartolomucci and Pasqualoni, who sit peaceably in their official rooms in Naples, but the good faith of somebody in Bari, in

* Massari, p. 173.

Reggio, in Teramo, in Cosenza, and so forth; somebody who, unless he be a happy exception to general rules in those latitudes, is ready at any moment to break, for a piastre, any rule under which he is charged to act; somebody who sends up his schedule, say from Bari, when the public there have no knowledge that he is framing it, just as when it is published they will have no means of testing it; and if they attempted to question it, they would promptly rank as enemies of order, and be added to the number of those who are the unfortunate subjects of the return.

But now I will analyze the headings of these returns, and will show that I am strictly accurate in declaring that they leave the matter precisely where they found it; just as much so as if A should say, There were thirty thousand English at Waterloo, and B should reply, No, for I will show you by returns from the Horse Guards, that the Scots Greys did not number eight hundred.

My estimate then refers to the number of "political prisoners in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies."

We are presented in reply with a "*Stato Numerico degli imputati politici presenti in giudizio in carcere, o con modo di custodia esteriore, presso le Grandi Corti Speciali dei Dominii Continentali del Regno delle Due Sicilie;*" and a "*Stato Nominativo degli individui che trovansi in carcere a disposizione della polizia per reati politici nelle diverse provincie dei Dominii Continentali del Regno delle Due Sicilie.*" These returns give a gross total of 2024 in prison, and of 79 out of prison but under restraint.

Their titles may be rendered into English as follows:—

No. 1. "Number of persons charged on political

grounds and under judicial process (being either prisoners or under custody out of doors) before the Grand Special Courts of the Continental Dominions of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies." And No. 2. "Return of the names of persons in prison under the authority of the police for political offences in the several Provinces of the Continental Dominions of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies."

It shall now be shown that almost every word of these titles is a separate, clear, and important curtailment and limitation of the account of prisoners, cutting off from the return one large class after another, so that at last the numbers returned have no more to do with my estimate than the number of the Scots Greys with the total number of English at Waterloo. For,—

First. No. 1 is a return of "*imputati*," persons under charge: whereas a main portion of my accusation is, that persons are arrested, and that not by way of rare exception, but habitually and in multitudes, without any charge at all, "*per ordine superiore*," as the portentous phrase is, it being "the essential aim of the system to *create* a charge," not to discover a crime.*

Secondly. The return does not profess to be a return even of all prisoners who have been charged: it is of prisoners who, having been charged, are under judicial process. Here then lies, I must say, a great mystery of iniquity; and whatever be the deficiency in knowledge of Neapolitan law which the defender charges upon me, I am thankful to have just enough for its detection. Be it known then, that before there is any *giudizio*, properly so called, or process before the tribunals, which commences either with the requi-

* Page 179.

sitoria, or with the *atto d' accusa* or indictment, there is an *istruzione* or preparatory process which may and does cover a great length of time, between the period when the prisoner had a charge lodged against him, and thus became an *imputato*, and the time when his trial before the court commences with the *requisitoria* or the *atto d' accusa*; during which indefinite time, his case is in the hands of the police department, sometimes in a state of growth, sometimes at a standstill, sometimes in entire abeyance and oblivion, as I say deliberately, and with given cases in my mind. But we have by no means done yet, for—

Thirdly. This is not a return even of the political prisoners who have been both charged and put on trial, but of those who have been so put on trial before the Special Courts. I have already adverted in general terms to the meaning of this exceptional form of criminal judicature.* Now there are large classes of political prisoners, who do not come before these special tribunals. For example: soldiers, or civilians who are accused of tampering with the soldiers, are brought, under particular laws, before *consigli di guerra*, or military courts. Offences, again, committed through the press, if punishable "criminally" at all, belong to the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts, under laws of 1821, 1848, and 1849. And lastly, there are large classes of offences only punishable "correctionally," not "criminally," such as suspicious meetings, suspicious words, suspicious writings, suspicious proceedings generally, which are punishable before the local judges, or *giudici circondariali*. None of these can be included in the return before us.

* Two Letters, p. 197. See "Exposure," p. 22, for a fuller and more precise statement.

Now I believe that this constitutes a very heavy addition, indeed, to the list. For there are in the mainland dominions of Naples no less than five hundred and thirty prisons in connection with these local courts, and the number of them without political prisoners is comparatively small.

For legal authority in support of these statements, I refer to the work of Signor Massari, entitled "Il Sig. Gladstone ed il Governo Napolitano, Torino, 1851," pages 168-172, and page 177, the writer of which has been aided by the Cavalier Mancini, an exiled Neapolitan lawyer, who has received at the hands of the Government of Piedmont the appointment of Professor of International Law.

Besides all these, there are yet two other most gross and palpable omissions in the Return No. 1 to be pointed out.

Fourth. It takes no notice whatever of those who *have* been tried and sentenced, that is, of the whole class of political convicts: nor, according to its terms, does it include persons acquitted, but still in prison; nor persons who after conviction have suffered their entire sentences, but are not released. Now what are the numbers of the class of political convicts? For the whole kingdom I have not the means of answering the question; but in the province of Teramo, with 203,000 inhabitants, there were, some months ago, two hundred and forty-seven political convicts. If Teramo represents an average of the whole country, the total number will amount to between nine and ten thousand.

Fifth. It takes no notice either of prisoners or convicts in Sicily, though I expressly spoke of the prisoners in the "kingdom of the Two Sicilies,"*

and afterwards distinguished from it the kingdom of Naples, or the mainland dominions, to which all my subsequent statements were to refer.*

I have still a few words to say on Return No. 2. It is without date! It is entitled a return of names, and it does not give so much as one name! It is a return confined to persons in prison under the police, "for political offences," *per reati politici*; but *reati* is a technical word, and implies that they have been under process. It is stated by the authorities to whom I have referred, and with every likelihood of accuracy, that it must mainly respect persons who, having been imprisoned, charged, and tried, and having had the rare good fortune to be acquitted, are, nevertheless, still detained in prison at the discretion of the police—a case not visionary, as I have already had occasion to show. Thus it may supply the void I have just now pointed out. Nor have we yet altogether done. Return No. 1 represents the numbers under process in each province: and adds (see also p. 24 of the *Rassegna*) "from this number deducted the persons included in the Sovereign Graces of April 30 and 19 May, 1851, according to the table No. 3." Now table No. 3 informs us that in the provinces of Principato Ultra, Abruzzo Citra, and Terra d'Otranto taken together, thirty-five persons were thus released from process. But No. 1 informs us that, in those three provinces, the whole number under process, from which the thirty-five were to be deducted, amounted to eighteen!

I consider that I have now fully redeemed my engagement to demonstrate that these two Returns, produced as if they were a contradiction of my estimate

* p. 176.

of the number of political prisoners, are no contradiction of it at all; but that they artfully and fraudulently, by the use of technical terms and in other ways, shirk the whole point at issue, and leave my statement quite untouched.

I must further observe, that thus leaving it untouched, they are in reality among the strongest confirmations it could possibly have received. My language was clear: it related to the sum total of political prisoners. When it was determined to make an official reply, and when months were employed in its preparation, why did the Government omit from its Returns the prisoners not yet charged; the prisoners charged, but not yet under trial before the tribunals; the prisoners not falling within the cognizance of the Grand Courts Special at all; the prisoners acquitted and still detained in prison; the prisoners of all descriptions whatsoever in the island of Sicily?

The matter standing thus, it may be almost superfluous to think of adducing any confirmatory evidence of an estimate which never pretended to be more than an estimate, and which, having been so long before the world, has been thus elaborately evaded, and thus practically corroborated, by those who, had it been untrue, as they had the strongest motives, so likewise had the very best means to supply a real and not a pretended contradiction.

In one of the London journals, the "Daily News," there has appeared, subsequently to the Neapolitan reply, a classified statement of the persons who have been in custody in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies since the events of 1848. This statement appears to

carry the aggregate number somewhat beyond mine, and it is one which I believe to be written both with perfect good faith and with considerable means of information. Even the 30,000 which I mentioned, not as my own, but as an estimate not uncommon, is far from being the maximum of those which I have seen made in published works by men of character and station. Choosing, however, to rely mainly on what I think the very strong evidence afforded by the total absence of any serious effort at contradiction, I shall simply mention a single illustrative fact, necessarily limited in its range because it belongs to a particular class and spot, but one full of meaning, and one which may be thoroughly believed. I have had means of access to a list, avowedly drawn from memory and incomplete, of the names, particular designations, and residences of *two hundred and eighty-six priests, confined for political causes in the prison of San Francesco, at Naples, between 1849 and 1851.* To what sort of computations this fact would reasonably lead as to the totals of all classes in all prisons of the whole Neapolitan and Sicilian dominions, I need not explain.

IV. I must now proceed to notice certain denials of my statements, which were put forward before the appearance of the Neapolitan defence by advocates of that Government, whose zeal outran alike their information and their prudence. I shall not think it necessary to argue upon the merits of allegations, which the principals have not thought proper to adopt; but it is right they should be set out as a caution to the world, and as a needful portion of this summary report upon the condition in which the accusation has been left, after the battering process to which it has been subjected.

I have stated that "as I hear,"* confiscation or sequestration often takes place upon arrest. Mr. Charles Macfarlane** boldly declares in reply, that "not a fragment of property of any kind has been touched." But the official reply does not impugn the statement which I made.

The same gentleman, and likewise M. Gondon, the editor of the *Univers*, have published a romantic account of Poerio's career;*** his connection with Mazzini at Paris; his contributions to the *Giovine Italia*, and the like. He never knew Mazzini, never was at Paris, never wrote a line in the *Giovine Italia*. Not one syllable of all this tirade is directly adopted in the official defence; but I am sorry to add, it is quoted in a note as the testimony of "another Englishman."

"No political offender,"† it is stated, "has been kept above twenty-four hours without being examined." The official reply does not echo the assertion; but, on the contrary, †† points out the fact in its own defence, that in cases of political crime the police may detain persons in its own disposal for more than the twenty-four hours specified by law as the term within which they must be examined.

The same rather officious writer alleges that political offenders ††† are kept quite separate from common felons. I might refer to my own ocular testimony: but it is enough to say that here again the Government are silent.

M. Gondon, the editor of the *Univers*, has, perhaps, been the most forward champion of the Neapolitan policy; and his zeal has so clouded his perceptions that he cannot even state with accuracy the value of

* Page 176.

** Macfarlane, p. 21.

*** Ibid., p. 18.

† Macfarlane, p. 30. †† Rassegna, p. 18. ††† Macfarlane, p. 32.

a ducat in French money.* He informs me** that the Neapolitan judges are irremovable; a gross error, of which the official reply of course keeps clear.

He alleges that my statement of the slaughter*** in the prison at Procida exaggerates tenfold the number of the victims. The official reply does not assert that there was the slightest exaggeration.†

He alleges †† that I charge the Government with taking care to chain the prisoners to the men who have denounced them, and says Poerio was chained to a gentleman of his own profession. This last is true; but I had stated it before him. I had not stated that it was the general practice to chain prisoners to the informers against them; but I mentioned a particular case, that of Margherita, ††† and the Government does not deny it.

I shall sum up this very singular list by referring to the version which Messrs. Gondon and Macfarlane have given; to much the same effect, of the case of the Deputy Carducci and his murderer, the priest Peluso.

My statement respecting Carducci was, § that he was "assassinated by a priest named Peluso, well known in the streets of Naples, never questioned for the act, and said to receive a pension from the Government."

This statement is judiciously let alone by the official Apologist, while it is contradicted with the utmost hardihood by the volunteers.

But it so happens, that the facts in this case became the subject of mention in the short-lived Parliamentary Chambers of the Neapolitan Constitution; and

* La Terreur dans le Royaume de Naples, p. 37. ** Ibid., pp. 37 and 173
 *** Ibid., p. 42. † Rassegna, p. 55. †† Rassegna, pp. 48 and 174.
 ††† p. 192. § Page 177.

I take the following notices of them from the publication of a well-known member of those Chambers corroborated in many points by other accounts in my possession.

Carducci was in 1848 named a Deputy for his own province, that of Salerno, and a Colonel of the National Guard. He was treated by the Sovereign with every sign of confidence and kindness. Alarmed for his personal safety after the 15th of May, he took refuge on board a vessel of the French squadron. He afterwards took a passage with nine companions from Malta to Calabria, intending to make his way to Naples, and exert himself for the maintenance of the Constitution. They were wholly unarmed. They were compelled by bad weather to land at Acqua Fredda, in Basilicata, and near the province of Salerno. That any reward had been set upon the head of Carducci, or any proclamation issued against him, is totally untrue. Peluso, the priest, living near, received and entertained him. The party were waiting for the settlement of the weather to re-embark, when they saw their host approaching with a body of armed men. Three of them were wounded by a discharge of musketry, of whom Carducci was one; and the effects of the party were rifled, while the wounded were made prisoners. Carducci was carried off by Peluso, and his body was found some days afterwards lying unburied with the head cut off. I will now quote the words of D'Arlincourt, not so much an admirer as a worshipper of the Neapolitan Government. *La tête du fameux insurgé fut mise dans un pot de sel, et ironiquement envoyée à ses coréligionnaires de Naples.**

The magistracy, which had not then been cor-

* L'Italie Rouge, p. 255.

raptured by intimidation as at present, bestirred itself. Pinto, Judge of the *Circondario*, began the *istruzione*, or process. He was dismissed; and Gaetano Cammarota was sent in his stead to manage the affair. He proceeded in it with fidelity; and he, too, was recalled. But a third Judge, De Clemente, had been joined with him by the Procurator-General, on account of the importance of the cause. He likewise valiantly persevered in the investigation; and the Procurator-General, Scura, honourably and manfully sustained him. The Procurator-General was dismissed, and is now in exile. De Clemente, in appearance only more fortunate, was promoted to be *giudice regio* at Potenza; but was after one month deprived.

A petition was presented to the Chamber of Deputies; and the Chamber unanimously referred it to the Ministry with a strong recommendation for the prosecution of the inquiry. Upon a second motion, the recommendation was unanimously renewed. Those members of the Chamber, who were of the Ministerial party, concurred in both these demands.

And here I close the history of the murdered Deputy Carducci and the Priest Peluso his murderer: and with it my reference to the daring but futile efforts of the writers I have named to procure belief for fictions which a sense of prudence and decency, or a regard for truth, or both combined, have kept the Neapolitan Government itself from attempting to palm upon the world.

I come now to the *Catechismo Filosofico*. This I am told I have wrongly interpreted; and the defender, describing it as the work of a pious ecclesiastic, does *not breathe* one syllable of disapproval against the *doctrines* it contains. It was first published, he states,

in 1837; and republished in 1850 as a private speculation without the authorization of Government, and before the law for the preventive censorship of the press was in existence.

I had no knowledge of the date of the original publication of this miserable book, and no intention of conveying the impression that I had such knowledge. I do not doubt the allegation, that it was published in or before 1837; but unfortunately this has little tendency to mend the case, since it only carries us back to one or more earlier crises of Neapolitan history to which the doctrines of the Catechism are nearly, if not quite, as applicable as to that of 1848. The defender does not in the least deny, that the present circulation of it proves the approval by the Government of the maxims it recommends, nor does he, although he says the Government did not authorize the diffusion of the reprint of 1850, deny that it is used in the public schools under the authority of the Government. And since the publication of my letters I have received assurances from one on whom I can fully rely, that he is personally acquainted with the mayor of a Neapolitan town who has himself received from Government an official order to place this Catechism in the hands of all teachers of schools.

I may properly choose this place to offer an explanation of the observations in my Second Letter with respect to the conduct of the clergy. It has been said that I have here unduly extenuated the responsibility of the Church of Rome at the expense of the civil authorities. My answer is that I have said nothing whatever about the responsibility of the Church of Rome, either for the doctrines of the Catechism or for *the practices* of the Government. We might find a

very interesting subject for a dispassionate inquiry in the relation between the moral teaching of the Church of Rome (or any other Church), and its development in the practice of her members where she has full and undivided sway; but nothing could have been more impertinent and improper, than for me to have introduced the slightest tittle of such matter into a statement, which I believed to rest on grounds common to all who recognize the obligations of revealed, nay more, of natural, religion. What I did mean was, to prevent an exaggerated estimate (particularly in England during the year 1851) of the share taken by the clergy as a body in giving countenance to these proceedings. In this point of view I do not think I have done them more than justice; and I trust the reader will recollect what appalling numbers even of that favoured class have swelled the numbers of the imprisoned. Indeed, I have done them rather less than justice, in saying I was convinced from information that "a portion of them"* made disclosures from the confessional for political purposes; for the particular cases connected with the confessional which reached me, in a form to command my credence, were not more than two.

Such, then, upon the whole matter, is my *comple-rendu*. I am sure it will prove that, in obtaining that general attestation to my personal veracity and trustworthiness, which, and which alone, the permission to address Lord Aberdeen implied, I made no abusive appeal to that sentiment of humanity throughout Christendom, which has replied to me with even more energy than I ventured to anticipate. I believe that, for my own vindication, I might without any new

* Page 236.

publication have relied in perfect safety upon the verdict already given by the public opinion and announced by the press of Europe. The arrow has shot deep into the mark, and cannot be dislodged. But I have sought, in once more entering the field, not only to sum up the state of the facts in the manner nearest to exactitude, but likewise to close the case as I began it, presenting it from first to last in the light of a matter which is not primarily or mainly political, which is better kept apart from parliamentary discussion, which has no connection whatever with any peculiar idea or separate object or interest of England, but which appertains to the sphere of humanity at large, and well deserves the consideration of every man who feels a concern for the wellbeing of his race, in its bearings on that wellbeing; on the elementary demands of individual and domestic happiness; on the permanent maintenance of public order; on the stability of Thrones; on the solution of that great problem which, day and night, in its innumerable forms, must haunt the reflections of every statesman both here and elsewhere, how to harmonise the old with the new conditions of society, and to mitigate the increasing stress of time and change upon what remains of the ancient and venerable fabric of the traditional civilisation of Europe.

On every account I hope that the matter is not to end here. If it should, it will be another heavy addition to that catalogue of all offences committed by Governments against liberty or justice which the spirit of revolution, stalking through the world, combines and exaggerates, and brings unitedly to bear against each in turn; and which, apart from the Spirit of Revolution, wounded and bleeding humanity cannot but *in these glaring instances record.*

But I think that the very words traced by the pen of the Neapolitan apologist afford us the *auspiciū melioris ævi*. Could any human being, he asks,* imagine that a Government, ever so little careful of its dignity, could be induced to change its policy because some individual or other has by lying accusations held it up to the hatred of mankind? I answer—No. This did not enter into my imagination. But I reply to his question by another: Could any human being have supposed that, on the challenge of a mere individual, the Government of Naples would plead, as it has now pleaded, before the tribunal of general opinion, and would thereby admit, as it has now admitted, the jurisdiction of that tribunal? That Government, far from insignificant as estimated by the numbers and qualities of the people whom it rules, and far from weak in material force, has, nevertheless, descended from its eminence, and been content to stand upon the level of equal controversy, in the face and under the judgment of the world.

Now, I say, that to answer the statements of a private accuser is a proceeding no less remarkable and significant, than to alter or modify a course of measures in consequence of those statements. The public and formal endeavour to prove them false implies, by the most inexorable continuity and cogency of logic, that, if they be true, they deserve attention, and should lead to practical results. The endeavour to disprove them by an argument addressed to the European public, is a transparent admission that the European public is to judge, whether or not the endeavour is successful, whether or not the original *accusation* stands. If the general sentiment be, that

* Rassegna, p. 7.

the disproof has failed, and that the charge remains, then I say that, by the fact of this answer, the Neapolitan Government stands bound in honour as well as in consistency to recognize that sentiment, and to allow it to act upon its own future policy and administration, in the direction to which it points. As to the question of fact, what the general opinion at this moment really is, I think that not even the Neapolitan Government itself, no, nor its advocates, can be in doubt, if accustomed to consult those barometers of opinion upon which its influences play with freedom.

But it would not be in such case to the individual, that homage would be done. The cheer of a vast assemblage is a sound majestic and imposing; the voice of the person appointed to give the signal for it is one of the most insignificant order. My function has been no higher than his; I have only pointed out and delineated; it is the public sentiment, and the public sentiment of no one country in particular, that has judged. It was to that public sentiment that the Neapolitan Government was paying deference, when it resolved on the manly course of an official reply; it will be to that public sentiment that further deference will, I would fain hope, and I for one care not how silently, be paid, in the searching reform of its departments and the whole future management of its affairs.

When I framed my first representation, I strove to avoid direct reference to Neapolitan or other politics. The principle on which I proceeded was, that from such conduct as that which I described, all Governments, all authorities, all political parties, and especially those which desired to act in the interest of public order and of the monarchical principle, ought to *separate themselves*, to disown connection with it,

and to say It is none of ours. Such, however, I must own, has not proved to be the case. Partly from religious jealousies, partly from the strange and startling nature of the facts, partly from an instinct which seems to suggest, under certain circumstances, that at a period like this a man can only choose in the gross between those who possess power on the one hand and those who are labouring to subvert it on the other, there has been more or less of the disposition shown, although not in England yet elsewhere, to treat a statement such as that I have made as a sin against one political creed, or as an indication of leaning to another, or of a desire to dally with party and to reap its favours without sharing its responsibilities. This imposes on me the duty of saying that, as I cannot claim one jot or tittle of credit with liberalism or Republicanism, or with liberal or Republican politicians as such, for the witness I have borne, so neither can I accept any portion of whatever censures may be awarded to me as an offender against the principles called conservative, or as having acted in a manner to weaken the hands of any of their champions. The principle of conservation and the principle of progress are both sound in themselves; they have ever existed and must ever exist together in European society, in qualified opposition, but in vital harmony and concurrence; and for each of those principles it is a matter of deep and essential concern, that iniquities committed under the shelter of its name should be stripped of that shelter. Most of all is this the case where iniquity towering on high usurps the name and authority of that Heaven to which it lifts its head, and wears the double mask of Order and of Religion. Nor has it ever fallen to my

lot to perform an office so truly conservative, as in the endeavour I have made to shut and mark off from the sacred cause of Government in general, a system which I believed was bringing the name and idea of Government into shame and hatred, and converting the thing from a necessity and a blessing into a sheer curse to human kind.

For I am weak enough to entertain the idea that, if these things be true—if justice be prostituted, personal liberty and domestic peace undermined, law, where it cannot be used as an engine of oppression, ignominiously thrust aside, and Government, the minister and type of the Divinity, invested with the characteristics of an opposite origin,—it is not for the interests of order and conservation, even if truth and freedom had no separate claims, that the practical and effective encouragement of silent connivance should be given either to the acts or to the agents. This policy, in the extravagant development of it which I have stated, is a policy which, when noiseless attempts at a remedy have failed, ought, on the ground of its mere destructiveness, to be stripped beneath the public gaze, and this, too, before the strain it lays upon human nature shall have forced it into some violent explosion. Certainly, there is a philosophy according to which all this is simplicity, childishness, and folly—a philosophy which teaches, or proceeds as if it taught, that everything should be passed by *aversis oculis*, rather than give encouragement to revolution; and its oracles forget that there are more ways than one of encouraging revolution, as there are of encouraging reaction. Revolution, like reaction, is sometimes promoted by seconding the efforts of its friends, sometimes by opening full scope, or, as it is said, giv-

ing rope enough, to the excesses and frenzy of its enemies. Such at least is the doctrine which, in common with my countrymen of all parties, I have learned; and among us the simplicity, the childishness, and the folly would be thought to lie in propounding any other. Yet I grant, that matters of this kind take their forms, at particular times and places, from the human will: such as we will have them to be, such they are. If any friends to the principle of order contend, that these exposures ought not to be made, that they weaken the hands of authority in a day when it has no strength to spare, and that they inflame the cupidity and rage of the enemies of constituted order, I am not prepared to deny that, to the extent and in the sphere within which such doctrines are propounded and bear sway, those lamentable results are really produced. I cannot deny that if the conservative principle required us to wink at every crime purporting to be committed in its defence, it would be damaged by the revelation; but in such case it would be high time that it should be damaged too. As it is, I admit and lament the fact of evil done; I find the cause, not in the disclosures, but in the reception which has occasionally been given to them; the responsibility for the evil must lie with the authors of that reception.

It may, however, be incumbent upon me, now that a political colour has been adventitiously affixed by some persons to my publication, to say a few words upon the view I take of the political position of the throne of the Two Sicilies in reference to its dominions on the mainland.

While, then, my opinion of the obligations of the *Sovereign*, in regard to the Constitution of 1848, and of *the manner in which they have been dealt with*

may be clearly gathered from the second of my Letters in particular, I think justice demands from me the admission that, even apart from the great embarrassments of the Sicilian question, the King of Naples had real and serious difficulties to encounter in the establishment of representative institutions. The dramatic, or, to speak more rudely, the theatrical principle has acquired a place in the management of political affairs in Italy in a degree greater than can recommend itself to our colder temperament. Crudities are taken up hastily and in large quantity: the liveliness of imagination and sentiment outstrips the lagging pace of the more practical faculties and the formation of fixed mental habits: the spire of nationality must be carried up to heaven, before the foundation-stone of local liberties is laid.

From considering the history of the Neapolitan innovations in 1848, and of the reaction which succeeded it, I do not doubt that, although perhaps all Europe does not contain a people more gentle, more susceptible of attachment, more easy of control, the King would have had some difficulties to encounter in working the machine of constitutional Government. Among the members returned to his Parliament, there were a section, though a small section, of decided Republicans. The agitation for a change in the composition of the House of Peers, or in some cases for its abolition, before a representative body had met, and for an extension of the electoral franchise before it had been once used, were circumstances that showed the necessity for a resolute will and a strong guiding hand.

But surely it must in fairness be admitted that there was some apology for this restlessness of mind, *and for the "blank misgivings" which were its main*

cause. For 1848 was not the first year when a Constitution had been heard of in Naples. I will not rake up the embers of the past for the purposes of crimination, but it undoubtedly ought to have been remembered for those of considerate indulgence. When a people have on signal occasions seen solemn boons retracted, and solemn sanctions, on whatever plea of State necessity, set aside, who can wonder at, who can blame, their entertaining a vague suspicion of evil—their uneasy searching for new and extended guarantees? And how is this misgiving to be cured? Only in one way—by steady, persevering good faith—by the experimental assurance that the things which have been are not to be again. It is idle to urge the difficulties in the way of working the constitutional machine as reasons for the violation of pledges, when those very difficulties arose out of a mistrust, of which former breaches of promise had been the origin. The only way to cure mistrust is by showing that trust, if given, would not be misplaced—would not be betrayed. By its own nature it is spontaneous, and not subject to brute force; in order to be enjoyed it must be soothed and won.

Now the proceedings of the Neapolitan Parliament, taken as a whole, distinctly prove that, whether wise or not in every step, it was loyal in its intentions to the monarchy. When the question is asked in future times, whether it ventured far enough, and assumed an attitude sufficiently firm in defending the solemnly-established franchises, posterity may, perhaps, return a less favourable reply. But this want of masculine daring is at any rate not an accusation to be pressed *against* it by the friends of the re-action. As *against the throne*, the hands of that Parliament seem to have

been clean, its intentions frank and upright. When I say that it had within it some portion of intractable material, I only say that which is necessarily true of every representative assembly in the world. Suppose it granted, that through timidity and misgivings it might have been betrayed into encroachments, and might have applied more to organic and less to administrative measures than prudence would have recommended. Sincerity and straightforwardness of purpose were the fitting and appropriate medicine: they would soon have disarmed its impetuosity, and given its real loyalty fair play. There was the country, too, at large: surely that was not republican, that docile and kindly people, so ready to trust and love, asking so little and believing so much. Why was no trust reposed in them? Why was not the constitutional battle fairly fought? Why was not the regular business of the state allowed to proceed in the forms of the constitution, even to the close of one session? Why was the Parliament dishonoured and spurned in regard even to its primary and most essential function, that of the imposition of taxes? Why were its addresses repelled? Upon the very lowest ground (one far too low) why were not both the chamber and the constituency fairly tried before they were cashiered, and how can it be pretended that they had a fair trial when the Government never submitted to them a policy, upon which to try them, by its acceptance or rejection, and by the nature of the substitutes that might be proposed, but would not allow them to show what they really were, or meant to be, and proceeded from the first as though they meant to break the royal oath, and to catch, or if they could not catch, actually create an opportunity for overthrowing the liberties of

the country? Had the King, in 1848, been advised to encounter his difficulties with those "small stones from the brook," frankness, steadiness, and singleness of purpose, his very defeats, had he met them, would have been the surest pledge of ultimate triumph, he would have rested not upon the stark and rigid support of a military force, utterly overgrown in comparison with the population and resources of the country, but upon that confidence and intelligent affection which we see now working out the constitutional problem in Piedmont, notwithstanding the cruel burdens entailed by the recent war, with every prospect of success. It was for factious opposition to the administration, that the Parliament of Naples was extinguished; and I should wish to know what constitution or parliament on earth would have an existence worth a month's purchase, if upon such a plea it might be overthrown with impunity.

It is grievous to witness in the official reply from Naples, as well as in the works of the volunteers, the coarse reproduction of that unmitigated cant or slang which alike among all parties forms the staple of political controversy, when their champions write in the sense and for the purposes of party only, without ever casting a glance upwards to the eternal forms of humanity and truth. The people do not complain; therefore they are the contented and happy witnesses to the admirable conduct of the Government. Or they do complain; therefore they are a few scoundrels, enemies of social order, and apostates from religion. The Catechism told us, that all liberals were bound for the kingdom of darkness; and the same strain of *undistinguishing* denunciation pervades these works. **Yet every man who has personal knowledge of the**

Italians, any man who has ever looked into the political literature of the country, must know that those who are thus, with incurable infatuation, lumped together as liberals, and denounced as unbelievers, are an aggregate of individuals presenting every variety of sentiment: some of them in religion being as ardent Roman Catholics as any cardinal in the college; and their range of political opinion including every imaginable shade, from those who simply disapprove of the baseness and cruelty of the reaction, down to republicanism goaded into frenzy. There is the less excuse for thus confounding persons and sentiments essentially different, because those who are in Naples and elsewhere, reviled under a common name, are not really in combination among themselves, but on the contrary dispute sharply, even under defeat, upon the matters in controversy between them; a proof, at least, that if they are ill supplied with worldly wisdom, they are not without frankness and honesty of purpose.

It is true, that as we follow the course of history, we find that unwise concession has been the parent of many evils; but unwise resistance is answerable for many more—nay, is too frequently the primary source of the mischief ostensibly arising from the opposite policy, because it is commonly unwise resistance which so dams up the stream and accumulates the waters, that when the day of their bursting comes they are absolutely ungovernable. A little modicum of time, indeed, may thus be realized by gigantic labours in repression, during which not even the slightest ripple shall be audible; and within that little time statesmen, dressed in their brief authority, may claim credit with the world for the peremptory assertion of power, and for having crushed, as the phrase goes at Naples, the *hydra of revolution*; but every hour of that time is not

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bought but borrowed—borrowed at a rate of interest; with which the annals of usury itself have nothing to compare; and the hydra of revolution is not really to be crushed by the attempt to crush, or even by momentary success in crushing, under the name of revolution, a mixed and heterogeneous mass of influences, feelings, and opinions bound together absolutely by nothing except repugnance to the prevailing rigours and corruptions. Viewed as mere matter of policy, this is simply to undertake the service of enlistment for the army of the foe. It is a certain proposition that when a Government thus treats enmity to abuse as identical with purposes of subversion, it, according to the laws of our mixed nature, partially amalgamates the two, and fulfils at length its own miserable predictions in its own more miserable ruin. But surely there is another mode of procedure: to examine the elements of which the force apparently hostile to a government is composed, and carefully to appreciate their differences; to meet, or, at least, to give an earnest of honest intention to meet, the objections of the moderate and just, by the removal of what causes them; to have some tenderness even for the scruples of the weak, to take human nature on its better side instead of perpetually galling its wounds and sores, to remember that violence itself has its moments of remission and its *mollia fandi tempora*, its opportunities of honourable access; and thus to draw out from the opposite array a large part of its numbers and its energy, a far larger of its virtue, its truth, and all the elements of permanent vitality. It may then be found that no other means are left; but it may also then be found that the compass of the evil is so reduced by the preliminary processes, that it is wiser and better to carry it

in patience, than to irritate the system by a sharp excision. If unhappily the risk must at last be run, and anti-social crime visited with the punishment which is its due, at least the what and the why will then be plain, and we shall talk something better than pestilent imposture when we proclaim the intention to crush the hydra of revolution, or vaunt of having crushed it. Nor is this a parade of humanity; it is surely rather the practical rule of government, which common sense dictates and the experience of the world sustains.

But there is another maxim yet more momentous. I fear that in Italy it is growing gradually into an article of faith with the country, that the evasion and the breach of the most solemn engagements are looked upon by some of the Governments as among their natural and normal means of defence. I shall not enter into the older grounds of this opinion. Suffice it to say, that it does unhappily receive countenance from recent events. In the very pamphlet before me I read of* the unhappy constitution of 1848, and of "the warm, accordant, spontaneous, and unanimous desire of the people, expressed in a thousand forms and a thousand times repeated, for the abolition of the Constitution and for a return to pure Monarchy." Now I say it is by language of this kind, used with the countenance of authority, that authority and monarchy are undermined, undermined in their original groundwork, the principle of trust and confidence between man and man. It is impossible for human audacity to go further, than in these self-damning assertions. The pamphleteer tells us now, that the Constitution was obtained "by agitators alone;"** *but the King of Naples told the world on the 10th of*

* *Rassegna*, p. 9.

** p. 9.

February, 1848, that he granted it to "the unanimous desire of Our most beloved subjects." Was he then undeceived by the conflict of May 15? No, for on May 24 he declared that Constitution to be "the sacrosanct altar upon which must rest the destinies of Our most beloved people and of our Crown," and invoked, in terms the most solemn, the trust of his people. It is now thought decent and politic to say its abolition was sought by the spontaneous and unanimous wish of the people. Their unanimous wish! When that Constitution had created a large electoral body, and scarcely the smallest fraction of members were returned on either of two several elections, who were not heart and soul in favour of the Constitution as against "pure monarchy." Their spontaneous wish! When, as I here and now assert, persons holding office under the Government of Naples were requested and required by that Government to sign petitions for the abolition of the Constitution (which, however, it has not yet been thought proper to abolish, and which is still the law therefore of the land, only habitually and in all points broken) under penalty of dismissal if they should not comply.

The history of one country may afford useful lessons to the authorities of another; and I heartily wish that the annals of the reign of Charles I. of England were read and studied in the Council Chamber of Naples. We have there an instance of an ancient throne occupied by a monarch of rare personal endowments. He was devout, chaste, affectionate, humane, generous, refined, a patron of letters and of art, without the slightest tinge of cruelty, though his *ideas* were those of "pure monarchy," frank and sincere *in his personal character, but unhappily believing that,*

under the pressure of State necessity such as he might judge it, his pledges to his people need not be kept. That king, upon whose noble figure and lineaments, more happily immortalised for us by Vandyke than those of any other of our sovereigns, to this day few Englishmen can look without emotion, saw his cause ruined, in despite of a loyalty and enthusiasm sustaining him, such as now is a pure vision of the past, not by the strength of the antimonarchical or puritanical factions, nor even by his predilections for absolutism, but by that one sad and miserable feature of insincerity which prevented the general rally of his well-disposed and sober-minded subjects round him, till the time had passed, the commonwealth had been launched down the slide of revolution, and those violent and reckless fanatics had gained the upper hand, who left the foul stain of his blood on the good name of England. And why should I not advert to another lesson which the last few weeks have ripened to our hand? King Ernest of Hanover is gathered to his fathers. When he went from England in 1837 to assume his German crown, he was the butt and byword of liberalism in all its grades, and among the professors of the Conservative opinions, which he maintained in their sharpest forms, few, indeed, were those hardy enough to own that prince as politically their kin; while Hanover, misled as it afterwards appeared by the freedoms of English criticism, received him with more dread than affection. Fourteen years elapse: he passes unshaken through the tempest of a revolution that rocks or shatters loftier thrones than his; he dies amidst the universal respect, and the general confidence and attachment, of his subjects; *he leaves to his son a well-established Government.*

and an honoured name; and, in England itself, the very organs of democratic feeling and opinion are seen strewing the flowers of their honest panegyric on his tomb. And why? The answer is brief but emphatic; because he said what he meant, and did what he said. Doubtless his political education had been better than men thought, and had left deeper traces upon him; but his unostentatious sincerity was his treasure; it was "the barrel of meal that wasted not, the cruse of oil that did not fail."

And now, in drawing towards a conclusion of this Letter and with it of this controversy, let me acknowledge with sincerity and warmth the moderation of temper and courtesy of tone, as towards myself, that mark the Neapolitan defence. The author of it has indeed characterised by strong terms the language which I myself had used. But he could not help it. Language of an extreme severity could not have been described intelligibly by feeble epithets. My apology is the old one—

"Be Kent unmannerly when Lear is mad."

My description was intended to suit itself to the subject matter; I did not seek to fall short of it, I did not feel able to go beyond it. The language of compliment and finesse from me to the authors and agents of the proceedings I have touched upon could have given them no comfort, and would have been on my part a piece of nauseous affectation. I have made no approach towards it, either in the former letters or in these pages. There is one way only in which I can, partially at least, reciprocate the courtesy. It is by pointing out that, except in two instances, where I knew the charge was fairly driven home upon individuals in high station at Naples, I have denounced (*what I think*) guilt in the mass, and have not at-

tempted to father it on this man or that. My reason for this course has been that I do not know, and I believe no man can know fully, how the responsibility should be divided. When a Government is not bound to render any account of its own acts, its own servants claim and practise as against it, the immunity which it claims and practises as against the nation. Each class of functionaries, as we descend the scale, is apt to have a sphere of licence all its own, and dimly known, or totally unknown, to its more remote superiors: the corruption of each one is multiplied into the fresh corruption of those that follow, and hideous indeed is the product by the time we get down to the most numerous class of public servants, those in immediate and general contact with the people. This class, in the police, I observe that the Neapolitan advocate himself consigns to reprobation. In the Cabinet of Naples there are men of strictly religious lives, men of known personal and public honour. It is some comfort to believe that they are themselves the victims and the dupes of the system of which they are also the instruments. Still more is it a duty and a satisfaction to presume similarly of the Sovereign. There are indeed acts which have been done by him and by his predecessors in regard to the revocation of constitutional rights once granted under the most solemn sanctions, upon which I cannot enter: they point back to modes of training, and formation of the moral sense, so widely different from ours, that while they are most deeply repugnant to our feelings we can hardly be correct judges of the degree or kind of defect, demerit, or whatsoever it be, in the individual so trained. But as to the cruel sufferings that are lawlessly inflicted and endured

beneath his sway, I think we should do great injustice to the Sovereign of Naples, were we not to believe that a thick veil intervenes between his eye, mental as well as bodily, and these sad scenes. I am confirmed in this belief both by circumstances to which I have referred in my former letters, and by finding in various quarters that persons sincere and fervent as the case demands in their sentiments about the facts, are persuaded that he has been the victim of deception, of the kind which is so deeply engrained in every system that is at once irresponsible, and administered by the hands of men necessarily fallible in judgment, limited in knowledge, and open to temptation. I, for one, should not think well of the modesty or the good sense of any one, who imagines that he himself could become part of a system of that nature, and not partake in its abuses.

But these considerations must not divert us from the facts themselves, which I hold it is a duty to denounce in plain language according to their real character, without any effeminate or affected squeamishness, the degenerate and bastard germ of that mildness which cannot be carried too far when we are dealing with persons, nor too soon got rid of when we are examining acts; acts, which have no flesh, blood, or nerves, but which are done upon human beings that have.

But the supposed policy and purposes of England have been dragged into this discussion, and, having been so dragged, they require a brief notice at my hands. Upon the one hand, even the official advocate appears to make himself responsible for the charges of an excessive rigour against the government of Sir *Henry Ward* in the Ionian Islands and of Lord *Torrington* in Ceylon; and he states that the treatment of

many Irish political prisoners had been denounced as inhuman in the British House of Commons. On the other hand it has been intimated, though not in this pamphlet, that my letters are but a part of a covert scheme cherished by England for obtaining territorial acquisitions in the Mediterranean at the expense of the Two Sicilies.

As to the first of these imputations, I have already stated that mere rigour on the part of the Neapolitan Government* would not have induced me to break silence. As to the cases which are quoted by way of retaliation, the difference between England and Naples is not that mischiefs and abuses are never found here and always there. We do not claim infallibility for our Government at home, much less for some forty or fifty Colonial Governors scattered over the world. The difference is this: that when a public officer in the British dominions is suspected of abusing authority, any person who sets himself to expose such misconduct may proceed in his task without hindrance and without fear, without being dogged by the police, without being treated as an enemy to the Throne and to public order, without being at a loss to find channels through which to bring the facts before the community at large, or means of full, rigid, and impartial inquiry; without being told what no public officer high or low would dare, even if he were unhappily so inclined, to say—that things like these, even if true, ought not to be made known. On the contrary, he who tracks the misconduct of public men into its hiding places, and holds it up to the general view, is looked upon in this country by the community at large, without the slightest distinction of party, Tory, Whig, or Radical, not as its disturber, but as its benefactor.

* Page 172.

Now, although I am tempted to show by detailed remarks how inappropriate would be any attempt at comparison between the cases cited against England and my allegations against the Government of Naples, I feel that I ought not to encumber and prolong this controversy with matter belonging to a separate inquiry. I shall only therefore observe that I think the writer has mixed together cases of very different merits and bearings; one of them I shall not attempt to criticise, as proceedings may, it is said, take place upon it at an early date, while another must tell directly against him, since the nobleman to whom he imputes misconduct has actually been removed from office, and the third, as I believe, is wholly frivolous; finally, accidental instances of rigour, especially at the remoter points of a diversified and extended empire, constitute a delinquency very different indeed from that which I have imputed to the Government of Naples, and that a reference to them, however important in itself, must not be allowed to draw us off from the question under consideration. Whatever these cases be, there are in England the means of free exposure, full public consideration, and fair trial; will the apologist afford us those means in Naples?

Again, as to the imputation of territorial aims in the Mediterranean, any man who has a knowledge of English feeling and opinion must be aware that they now really run in a diametrically opposite direction. The prevalent, and the increasingly prevalent, disposition of this country is against territorial aggrandizement. We can take no credit for this disposition, which I hope to see widened, deepened, and confirmed *from year to year*; for we have smarted before, and *are smarting* bitterly at this moment, for having

omitted to take more effectual securities against those tendencies to an extension of frontier, which are almost certain to operate if unchecked, where a civilised Power and an expansive race are brought into contact with an aboriginal population. The policy of England does not allow her to derive one farthing from her colonial dependencies. Many of them, those in the Mediterranean particularly, maintained for objects not properly colonial, put her to heavy charge, and nothing is so unlikely as that she should be seized with a passion for adding to their number. That course and tendency of opinion to which I have referred is indeed founded upon motives much higher than those of mere parsimony or thrift, and is allied to influences which among us are of very deep and powerful operation. We begin to learn and feel, that mere territorial possession is not the secret of wealth and power; that colonization, which at no time has been more in favour among us, has other and nobler aims; that the desire to build national greatness on enlarged range of dominion has been a fertile source of war, dissension, bloodshed, and of consequent weakness and poverty to nations.

We have entered upon a new career, that of free and unrestricted exchange, so far as lies in our power to promote it, with all the nations of the world. For the ancient strife of territorial acquisition we are labouring, I trust and believe, to substitute another, a peaceful and a fraternal strife among nations, the honest and the noble race of industry and art. For the contention which desolated the face of the world, in which whatever one party gained the other must needs lose, and which commonly was attended for *both alike with mischiefs during the struggle that ex-*

ceeded the whole value of the prize, England now hopes and labours to substitute another rivalry, in which the gains of one are not the losses of another, in which every competitor may be a conqueror, in which every success achieved in one country implies and requires more or less of corresponding triumphs in another, and which, in lieu of desolating the surface of the earth, makes it smile with the wealth and glory of nature and of art, and teem with every gift that a bountiful Creator has ordained for the comfort or the use of man. Such, if I know anything of them, are the views and machinations, such the labours and the hopes of England. I trust we shall never be drawn aside from them by any eloquence, however seductive, by any scheme, however plausible, that would send us forth into the world as armed evangelists of freedom; and this from the deep conviction, that no heavier blow than our compliance with such projects could be inflicted on that sacred cause. And if it be true that, at periods now long past, England has had her full share of influence in stimulating by her example the martial struggles of the world, may she likewise be forward, now and hereafter, to show that she has profited by the heavy lessons of experience, and to be— if, indeed, in the designs of Providence, she is elected to that office—the standard-bearer of the nations upon the fruitful paths of peace, industry, and commerce.

To sum up all. The execrable practices carried on by members and agents of the Neapolitan Government, if they were before unknown to its heads, are now at least brought to their knowledge, and they themselves must have some idea with what feelings *the statement of them has been received in Europe.*

The case has come to this point: that either the

Neapolitan Government should separate from these hideous iniquities, or else the question would arise, Is it just or wise to give countenance and warrant to the doctrine of those who teach that kings and their governments are the natural enemies of man, the tyrants over his body, and the contaminators of his soul? And if we thought not, then every state in Europe, every public man, no matter what his party or his colour, every member of the great family of Christendom whose heart beats for its welfare, should, by declaring his sentiments on every fitting occasion, separate himself from such a government, and decline to recognise the smallest moral partnership or kin with it, until the huge mountain of crime which it has reared shall have been levelled with the dust.

If the change can be wrought by the influence of opinion, it is well. But wrought it must and will be, and the sooner the more easily. As time flows on, and new sores form upon a suffering community, necessity will but grow more urgent, and opportunity more narrow, the pain of the process sharper, and its profit less secure.

And now I have done; have uttered, as I hope, my closing word. These pages have been written without any of those opportunities of personal communication with Neapolitans, which, twelve months ago, I might have enjoyed. They have been written in the hope that by thus making through the press, rather than in another mode, that rejoinder to the Neapolitan reply which was doubtless due from me, I might still, as far as depended on me, keep the question on its true ground, as one not of politics but of morality, and not of England but of Christendom and of mankind. Again I express the hope that this may be *my closing word*. I express the hope that it may

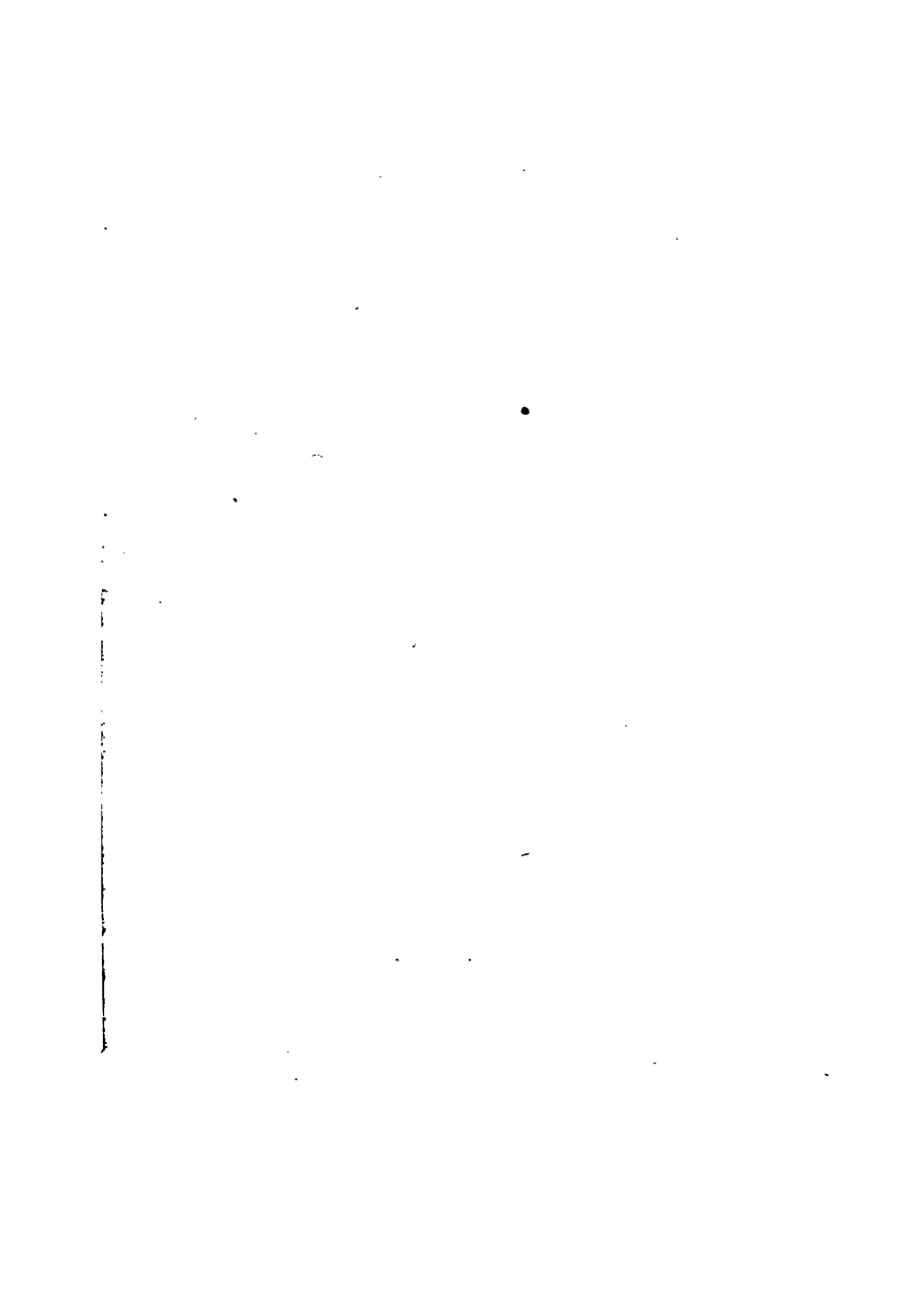
not become a hard necessity to keep this controversy alive until it reaches its one only possible issue, which no power of man can permanently intercept: I express the hope, that while there is time, while there is quiet, while dignity may yet be saved in showing mercy, and in the blessed work of restoring Justice to her seat, the Government of Naples may set its hand in earnest to the work of real and searching, however quiet and unostentatious, reform; that it may not become unavoidable to reiterate these appeals from the hand of power to the one common heart of mankind; to produce those painful documents, those harrowing descriptions, which might be supplied in rank abundance, of which I have scarcely given the faintest idea or sketch, and which, if they were laid from time to time before the world, would bear down like a deluge every effort at apology or palliation, and would cause all that has recently been made known to be forgotten and eclipsed in deeper horrors yet; lest the strength of offended and indignant humanity should rise up as a giant refreshed with wine, and, while sweeping away these abominations from the eye of Heaven, should sweep away along with them things pure and honest, ancient, venerable, salutary to mankind crowned with the glories of the past, and still capable of bearing future fruit.

*6, Carlton Gardens, London,
Jan. 29, 1852.*

THE END.

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